WHAT ARE THEY LEARNING?:
NEGOTIATIONS OF LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY WITHIN A THIRD SPACE AFTER SCHOOL PROGRAM

BY

DORIAN L. HARRISON

DISSERTATION

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Doctoral Committee:

Professor Patrick Smith, Texas State University, Chair
Professor Anne Dyson
Assistant Professor Stephanie Smith
Associate Professor Jeanne Fain, Lipscomb University

ABSTRACT

This dissertation argues that third space is a strong tool for understanding the dynamic between literacy learning and collaborations in an after school program. I make the case for an inclusion of socio-political discussions among sociocultural discussions of literacy in after school programs for an interdisciplinary approach to third space research.

Drawing upon sociocultural theory and third space theory, this dissertation analyzes three different productions of hybrid activity that emerged from the study of two after school sites in a small semi-urban community: literacy as a form of collaboration at micro and macro levels; culture as a dynamic force on youth's ascribed and avowed identity production; and style shifting as an element within third space.

Data were collected during a sixteen week of staff and youth ages six to ten who participated in the after school program. The research followed the staff and youth across their after school activities, and the expansion of the program into two locations. Data collection focused on audio interviews with staff and youth, and also included observations, field notes, participant observation, drawings, and archival information of the institution.

Findings showed that third spaces created within this after school program were linked to integrations of youth popular culture, code switching, and collaborations. These three aspects of third space allowed for further analysis of youth and staff language practices and examinations of curricula implemented during after school activities. This study adds to previous scholarship on third space and after school programs. It is unique in its contribution due to the political climate at the time of the study.

Keywords: literacy, third space, collaboration, identity, after school

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Chapter One
Introduction

From 2016-2017 after school communities came under heavy critique by the national government. As an after school employee and former director, I was struck by the lack of understanding about out-of-school learning. Leading groups of youth through various activities and programs after school was a practice I highly enjoyed. The learning activities mixed with fun and engaging programs produce unique experiences for youth to participate. While I took great pride in the after school work I did, I struggled to understand the disconnect between classroom-based approaches to learning and those in which we engaged after school. Even when sharing the results of after school activities with my teacher colleagues, the significance of after school learning pales in comparison with the experiences in the classroom. As a practitioner, I became increasingly perplexed about my reflections on after school learning and those reflections from the classroom because it seems misguided, given current practices.

The early experiences I had in classrooms and after school programs invited me to explore questions about literacy within after school programming and the construction of hybrid activities. Using a sociocultural approach to literacy, I begin with an exploration of after school programming today and ways to observe activities that occur in those spaces.

Sociocultural approaches

Explorations of home and community are essential components to understanding the link between language and culture across contexts. Scholarship on relationship between culture, identity, and language has been found to enhance our understanding and interpretations of language use and practices across many contexts (Dyson, 1993; Hornberger, 2004; Perez, 2004). Lewis, Enciso, and Moje (2007) assert that sociocultural theory allows us to explore the intersections of social, cultural, historical, physical, and political elements of learning and

interactions around text. Sociocultural theory is useful for exploring these relationships, but an additional framework is needed to fully understand the relationships between ideology, identity, school, and after school. Using Pennycook's (2010) framing of language practices, I ask how the combination of multiple school and home communities of minoritized boys and girls, each having their own respective language practices, literate identities, and cultures, is integrated with staff and institutional practices to develop third spaces of knowledge development and cultural exchanges. Critically, sociocultural research has shown how communities of individuals, such as African Americans and Latinos/as, are the agents of change in language through their appropriation or rejection of language practices (cf. Pennycook, 2010) and how those practices are indicators of multiple identities ascribed to and avowed by individuals in and out of school. Using this theoretical backdrop, I discuss the historical and contemporary context of after school programs in the U.S. and the conceptual framework for exploring literacy activities within after school programs.

Literacy as Social. This view of literacy merges social practices as ways of thinking and being in the world beyond reading and writing. Classroom experiences have traditionally viewed literacy as an isolated activity composed of with certain skills that must be mastered, often in idealized sequence However, as Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, Alvarez, and Chiu (1999) state, literacy is being redefined as a multifaceted and complex social activity that occurs across a variety of contexts. Literacy goes beyond skills-based instruction and use to encompass the ability to utilize those skills across situations to communicate with others (Street, 1994; Majors, Kim & Ansari, 2014). The issue of privileging classroom-based literacy over out-of-school literacies extends beyond an analytical problem. In order to interpret the relationships between

identity formation, literacy, and culture, we must consider literacy as a social construct within and beyond the classroom.

Sociocultural constructs of youth. Alvermann (2014) argues that the acceptance of youth, both in and outside of school contexts, as experts and authorities, remains unfinished business (p. 5). This recognizes the stereotypes that many adults place on young people, who have not mastered their own selves and their roles within society, points to ideologies of inferior versions of literacy. Consider the inter-relational process between youth, environment, and culture. Eglinton (2013) argues that there is little examination of youth meanings; significant identity categories such as class and race are, in part, rendered theoretically irrelevant; and there is minimal sustained effort to understand the role of the local in young people's cultural practices (p. 34). Understanding youth's use of material culture and relational approaches to instruction, serves as a way to capture youth meaning and begin listening to their understanding. By framing youth using a sociocultural perspective, this dissertation places local language practices, identities, and environment at the center of this research. I sought to understand the historical and contemporary contexts as important part of understanding the environment of after school programs.

Historical and Contemporary Contexts of After School Programs

After school programs are a small part of out-of-school learning. Within that context, there have been significant findings about the role of after school programs in the fields of literacy and learning. Significant practical changes have occurred within the last five years. After school programs in the United States underwent a drastic shift in 2002 with the implementation of the Partnership for 21st Century Skills (21st Century, 2016); a program established to strengthen community partnerships with schools. The cultural and academic effects of 21st

century skill initiatives have yet to be fully understood in the context of after school literacy and culture research separate from school-based initiatives. The core components of 21st Century Skills (critical thinking, communication, collaboration, and creativity) were envisioned to be key components of enhanced and expanded learning opportunities for children. From my childhood and work experiences within after school programs, these sites highlighted strong school-community partnerships attended by more than 8.4 million children utilized in the United States (21st Century, 2016; Afterschool Alliance, 2009), which makes the sites a key point of contact for extensions of learning. A change in the scope of what after school centers could offer children with additional funding from 21st Century Skills grants began to take shape within the five-year period. Literacy, math, and technology goals are at the forefront of the changes envisioned for the future. The academic shifts in after school programming prioritized knowledge development in after school spaces.

Although schools and after school programs share a common goal in their attempts to engage youth in learning activities, after school programs represent a distinct culture when compared with school programs and curricula (Cole, 1995). Hull and Schultz (2002) note that youth accomplishments in out-of-school settings often contrast with poorer school performances. Out of school environments, political climate, and the role of curriculums/programs are further explored below.

Shifting environments and climates. There is extensive research in the areas of after school culture and learning, however the formation of knowledge in after school spaces is still developing. Much of the research in the after school field has been strongly influenced by political agendas geared toward academic achievement on standardized assessments and toward competition for funding. One result of these agendas is a comparison between classroom and

after school achievement. Using after school and school achievement data, some after school studies have shown inconsistencies on whether students benefit academically from their participation in after school programs (Halpern, 1999; Bell, Bricker, Reeve, Zimmerman, & Tzou, 2013). National and local stakeholders in after school research are left wondering: How is knowledge developed and formed, and what environments best support learning? In addition, recent political shifts have altered the ways in which people are supporting after school programs. President Trump announced in 2017 that there would be significant cuts to education (which includes the 21st Century Skills grants) at the Federal level. Brown (2017) reported that the cuts would be close to $9 billion in educational funding. In Illinois, the site for this study, funding for after school programs had significant cuts in 2011 (Afterschool Alliance, 2017), and the Governor of Illinois called for the elimination of the entire After School Matters program in 2016 (Filippino, 2017). After School Matters Programs supply resources, training, and some funding to multiple after school programs across the state. The imposition of Federal cuts to educational programs presents an even greater problem for after school programs in Illinois.

Programming. After school environments are theorized to provide spaces for children to readily access and use their repertoires of language and cultural knowledge gained across multiple contexts in school and other environments. Youth are engaged in fun and immersive learning experiences that build upon their skills. After school programs' learning has traditionally followed one of two paths: strengthening social skills or academic skills (Durlack & Weissberg, 2007; Pham, 2014). Children engaged in after school programs experience a variety of programs that tap into social development fields and academic fields. Studies of children's interactions in after school programs with predominately social and academic programs suggest that, when taught well, those spaces where children and staff negotiate differences, explore

interpretations, and create new solutions are elements of third space environments when learning occurs. For example, Gutiérrez , Baquedano- López , and Tejeda (1999) describe how their long-term ethnography within after school and school programs revealed how points of conflict and negotiation can transform activities and participation in activities.

The changes to the curriculum plans can lead to new literacy learning. Of interest was Levy's (2008) study of third space theory with preschool children. The study sought to understand differences between discourses of home and school, and how children's perceptions of reading were negotiated or challenged with the various knowledges in the classroom. Additionally, Levy explored the ways in which third space theory had been used to understand knowledge development: (1) building bridges of knowledge from discourses, (2) a navigational space, and (3) a cultural, social, and epistemological change where different funds of knowledge meet, are challenged and reshaped (c.f. Moje et al., 2004). The current study seeks to explore third spaces in the construction of knowledge.

Levy (2008), described a clear way of understanding the connections between culture, social, and language influences within after school centers. Language will inevitably change over time, and it changes in different ways in different places (Pennycook, 2010; Rymes, 2014) according to environmental and cultural factors. Third space theory incorporates a combination of behavioral, linguistic, social, and cultural norms with a strong recognition of repertoires and practices that students and staff bring into those spaces. The intersections of this knowledge helps to build a unique community where connections are made and new learning can occur. Using this frame of understanding, each change or addition to the linguistic practices in a given time and place add to the cultural and social negotiations that take place in the after school

center. The following study is developed to better understand these phenomena in the context of a single after school center in a small urban community.

Third space research illustrates how the intersection of culture and community has led to profound changes in the experiences of learning language, language practices, and the development of multiple identities. Over time, third space theory (Gutiérrez, 2002) grew from hybridity theory and sociocultural studies (Cole, 1998) to embody critical investigations of activities and co-constructions of knowledge in schools and out of schools. In this study, I focus on understanding the U. S. after school ecology to explore literacy and how third spaces develop across contexts (academics and social recreation), as well as how the socio-historical background of the site influences how staff are socialized into a set of language practices within after school sites.

Conceptual Framework

As the basis for a conceptual framework, I believe that third space theory encompasses both macro- and micro-lenses to understand literacy learning within after school programs. This theory has shown promise in understanding how individual language and cultural practices meet and lead to additional knowledge and learning. Third space theory, as described by Gutiérrez (2002), is envisioned to be an activity-based approach to understanding cultural practices within learning environments. The educational constructs that influenced the framing of third space theory are Vygotsky's sociocultural theory of child development (Cole, John-Steiner, Scribner, & Souberman, 1978; Moll, 2014) and hybridity theory (Bhabha, 1994; Soja, 1996). This study considers social activity as an effect of the political climate which shapes the context for understanding cultural practices.

Third Space Theory

Literacy learning is not linear but instead comes in the form of a continuum with a variety of ways for children to learn and understand (Perez, 2004; Hornberger, 2004). In the 1990s, Dyson (1993) described literacy learning as a social process that was situated within a complex social world beyond the classroom. The spaces where community languages and school languages come together could be envisioned as the after school centers in which this study is situated. Lefebvre (1991) and Soja (1996) have influenced the concept of third space with strong connections to activity theory (Engerstrom, 1987; 1995).

First Space (Perceived space)	Third Space (Lived space)	Second Space (Conceived space)
Physical	Trilectical relation of perceived, conceived, and lived	Mental, represented

Figure 1.1. First, Second, and Third Space. From "Polycontextual Construction Zones: Mapping the Expansion of Schooled Space and Identity," by K.M. Leander, 2002, *Mind, Culture, and Activity, 9*(3), p. 216. Adopted from Wang (2003).

First space focuses on the material form and second space refers to the dominant discourse. Alternatively, third space is the dynamic of perceived and conceived space. Leander (2002) has applied this interpretation of third space with student identity development; his work is further explained within *Chapter 2.*

Third Space envisioned for this study. Third space as articulated by Bhabha (1994) and Soja (1996) accompanied by the notion of language practices (Pennycook, 2010) provides the philosophical foundations for this ethnographic case study. For example, social groups and institutions such as after school centers are enacted through language. Language is used in a political sense to determine the distribution of goods and resources, literacy, and technology (Millar & Warrican, 2015). This way of conceptualizing third space has influenced the present study. This study shows how third space is constructed from material form as well as the

dominant discourse of the space. *Figure 1.2* was adopted from Millar and Warrican (2015) and illustrates intersections of different language and cultural norms.

*Figure 1.*2. First, Second, and Third Space. A model of third space adapted from Millar and Warrican (2015)

In this study I argue that youth embody third spaces in multiple ways within after school programs. First, youth bring their home (first space) and academic (second space) identities and experiences to the after school program (third space). Youth fluidly move between multiple identities and knowledge gained across contexts (spaces). Second, youth embody multiple discourses and knowledges while participating in activities within their age groups.

Concepts of third space theory will be further explored in *Chapter 2* of this dissertation. Key terms mentioned within this chapter and later chapters are defined in an upcoming section.

Statement of the Problem/Opportunity

Summarizing, after school programs offer literacy research as an opportunity to study real-world applications of skills learned in school. However, few studies have focused on concepts of climate and race within their understandings of literacy. After school programs are institutions with racial and class social structures that add to the complexities involved with sociocultural literacy studies. Although many of the studies above consider race and class as contextual factors that impact literacy, multilayered analyses incorporating political climate are few in number. Therefore, a study explaining the role of environment, identity, literacy and

culture within an after school program can shed light on the ways in which African American youth are learning and utilizing school learning through their after school participation.

In addition, the field of after school research is divided into two major areas of inquiry that do not interact very often. One approach highlights the sociocultural methods of understanding after school programs and sites (Hull, 2001, 2012; Heath & McLaughlin, 1994; Lee & Hawkins, 2008), while another approach (Afterschool Alliance, 2009, 2014; Bronkhurst & Akkerman, 2016) to explores the effects of programming and policies on after school initiatives. Understanding the characteristics and meaning gained from both approaches is an important element for after school sites, but a challenge for researchers. It is even more challenging to identify core variables that positively affect learning in the after school site, which then affect in-school learning. Within this study, sociocultural approaches and socio-historical approaches, variables can be identified from interviewing staff and students who participate in the programs.

Purpose of the Study

The overall purpose of the study was to gain a detailed understanding of the policies, experiences, and perceptions that the after school site has on youth literacy as situated within a politically charged environment focused on academic achievement.

Significance of the Study

This study sought to understand the experiences, negotiations, and practices of the children and the staff in an after school program. This study takes third space theory beyond understanding learning from a child-centered approach, to also incorporate the perspectives and practices of staff. Multiple studies have been conducted on after school programs; however, very

few have sought to observe how the adults challenge and negotiate their understanding alongside the children. Typically, studies relied on in-depth descriptions of children and their interactions within the curriculums to obtain their data. However, very few studies have sought to observe how adults challenge and negotiate boundaries alongside youth. This is a limitation because researchers are not validating the importance of the staff's opinions and experiences. Inclusion of staff provides a clearer understanding of collaborations, borders, and boundaries within activities.

This study sought to understand how the political terrain has shaped and is shaped by the institution's understanding of curriculum implementation and funding needs. This study takes a historical and systematic look at the organization's history in the community, examine major changes to the ecology of the organization, in order to understand how these changes have impacted the day-to-day operations of today's children, staff, and families. While many studies of after school programs have provided brief histories of organizations, few, if any, have applied the political changes to history and current curriculums within third space research. This is a limitation because at the macro and meso level (Bartlett, 2014), histories and challenges influence the day-to-day operations of the administration and staff in terms of the curriculums offered to youth as well as staff training, and professional development.

Research Questions

In order to assess the policies, experiences, and perceptions of youth and staff, this study seeks to understand:

1. What can be observed about the relationship between the institution and staff practices within third space collaborations?

2. Which ideologies about youth culture underlie program/curricular implementations by staff?

3. How do language use and social interactions among youth and staff index negotiations of identity within third spaces?

This study uses a qualitative case study design to explore some possible answers to the questions previously outlined. A multi-case study of two after school sites within the same organization was selected. Seven staff and four youth were interviewed in this study. Of the seven staff members involved as participants in this study three were administrators and four were coordinators.

Summary

In the chapters to follow, I describe the range of mergers and resistances related to identity and communities of practices. Chapter Four focuses on the official spaces (national, state, and local) that fuel the Center financially and also help to shape ideologies concerning the youth who attend the Center. Chapter Five explores negotiations of youth and staff identity during after school programming. The mergers and resistances to the institution's goals for effective program implementation and learning are considered. Chapter Six explores the various communities of practice that developed across locations and describes how staff and youth showed expertise in their language use and practices while also exploring out-of-school ways of knowing. Although researchers have found theorizing about third space easy, examples continue to be hard to find. The relationships described across the following chapters highlight how these mergers and acts of resistance came together and coexisted within the third space after school program with powerful learning outcomes.

In the following section I define key terms found within this study.

Key Terms

21st Century Skills: In this study, 21st century initiatives are program supports for the creation of community learning centers that provide academic enrichment opportunities during non-school hours for children. There is an emphasis on providing these funds for high-poverty and low-performing schools (U.S. Department of Education, 2017)

After school center/program: In this study, the after school center was the first stop for K-8 students on their way home from school. Most children arrive to these centers through the school bus system or transportation provided by the organization.

Boundaries (Borders): In this study boundaries represent the differences in ethnicity, language, socioeconomic backgrounds, and/or educational attainment between individuals.

Climate: This term refers to the political and economic context in which after school youth and staff are living within during the study.

Culture: In this study, culture refers to the learned patterns of behavior and thought that helps a group adapt to their surroundings.

Ecology: This term refers to the interactions between culture, language, and the after school environment.

Identity: This term refers to a sociocultural understanding of identity development. It was seen to reference the relationship between the individual and the larger social world as mediated through institutions such as schools, workplaces, and after school agencies.

High Yield Learning Activity (HYLA): These lesson plans are created by staff based on youth interest or academic themes.

Marginalized: I chose to use the term *marginalized* because I believe that many social and economic factors place students at a disadvantage before they set foot into any classroom. In

addition, there is a long history around assessment biases that privilege one class or race over other groups.

Out-of-school: This term refers broadly to all activities and interactions that happen outside of normal school hours but are not limited to after school centers.

Style Shifting: This term is thought to mean when people make style changes in the way they speak in order to show a specific identity in society.

Urban: Milner (2012) defined urban education in 3 ways: urban intensive, urban emergent, and urban characteristic. Based on the review of literature on after school programming, the sites described in many of the studies were urban intensive with some that also fell within the category of urban emergent. For this study, the after school site is part of an urban emergent community.

Youth: *Youth* is the term for children/students participating in the after school program. The organization does not use the term(s) children or students as a practice.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Frame and Review of Literature

Fueled by my past experiences working in after school programs and within schools, moments of hybridity captured within third space provided a newer perspective by which to consider learning and literacy. Thus, in this chapter I explain the theoretical framework I used to position my study in a particular view of literacy and knowledge construction. I also present a review of relevant studies that represent the context in which I am studying. In the first part of this chapter, I present the theoretical framework. Then, in the second part of this chapter, I review related studies of literacy and discuss how they are connected to this research.

Third Space Theory

The theoretical framework for this study is based on third space theory. In this section, I begin by defining third space and then describe each of the areas critical to thinking about this hybrid: the official, the unofficial, and the theoretical power of blended spaces. I also emphasize that while third space is a strong well researched theory within studies of literacy, it is all too rarely referenced in after school contexts today. *Appendix B* highlights key studies reviewed for this chapter, themes from those studies, and gaps within the research.

According to Homi Bhabha (1994), the postcolonial perspective was a process of celebrating the dynamic spaces of cultural exchange characterized by shifting identities. This place was where things (i.e. language) ceased to signify other things, for everything that *was a difference* becomes a boundary that Bhabha calls the 'realm of the beyond' (1994). In particular, third space is an imagining of cultural space that gives voice to minoritized people and is acknowledged by the hybridity of cultures in defiance of ethnocentric traditions. The beyond is a contested space where space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and

identity, past and present, inside and outside, inclusion and exclusion (Kalua, 2009). Bhabha theorized third space within postcolonial contexts. However, for this study I applied third space theory using a language and literacy lens.

Typically, third space is used as a metaphorical place for studies of identity negotiation, boundary crossing, and shared knowledge. Of the 35 studies of third space in the field of language and literacy, four were conducted in after school settings (*Appendix B*). Of the four studies highlighted, none of the studies focused on programs that were predominately African American even though the largest ethnic group utilizing after school services are African American families. A report by America After 3PM (2014) found that African American children were more likely to participate in after school programs that children overall, however studies of after school programs using a third space theoretical approach was not reflected in the review of literature. One reason for the lack of research could be linked to the levels of access to after school programs in African American communities. Parker (2016) found that there is an unmet demand for after school programs in African American, Latino, and rural communities nationally. So, while there have been increases in the number of after school programs in the past five years of 21st Century Skills grants, there continues to be discrepancies concerning access, affordability, and availability for certain families (Parker, 2016; Cook, 2014; Pittman, Wilson-Ahlstrom, & Yohalem, 2003). Given all these factors affecting who was studied, this study sought to include African American and other minoritized voices for this study.

Major themes found across the studies include hybridity, culture and language, identity, and negotiations, and collaboration. These four themes are explored more in the following sections.

Hybridity

Hybridity theory has been paired with third space theory across the literature (Moje et al. 2004) and serves as one of third space theory's foundations. Hybridity theory offers a way to observe how youth and staff within after school programs make meaning of their world and texts as they interact within these 'in-between' spaces. The in-between encompasses neither a child-centered or curriculum-centered approach, but rather moves away from binary representations. The distribution of power enables many outcomes related to conversation, transformation, and negotiation (Wilson, 2000) within the integration of local knowledge with the curriculum. I have been intrigued by Homi K. Bhabha, whose theory of cultural difference provides researchers with the concepts of hybridity and the third space (Bhabha, 1994,1996). His concept of hybridity was developed from literary and cultural theory to describe the construction of culture and identity within conditions of colonial inequity. Loosely translated for this study, hybridity is the process by which the governing bodies (funding sources) translate the identity of the after school organization into a school-based framework, but then produce something familiar but new. Bhabha believed that a new hybrid identity emerged from the interweaving of elements of the two parties and changed the authenticity of any essentialist identity (Meredith, 1998). Hybridity is hypothesized to represent the in-between place that brings together knowledges, practices, and discourses. Instead of asking how national and cultural features affect the ability of members to adopt a set of cultural or language practices, followers of Bhabha would ask how the introduction of the practices contributes to the national identities and cultural beliefs.

Gutiérrez, Baquedano- López, and Tejeda (2000) draw from hybridity theory to explain the emergence of third space zones for development within elementary classrooms. In later research conducted by Gutiérrez and others, the concept of third space has been expanded to after school

settings. Gutiérrez, Baquedano- López, and Tajeda (2000) highlighted the use of ethnographic and discourse methods to understand the associated social practices and their relationship to activity systems. Their focus was on a predominantly Spanish speaking classroom in a working-class neighborhood. The researchers had followed the teacher from a university based teacher education program into her first two years teaching in the classroom, which accounted for at least three years. In this ethnographic study, researchers were concerned with the ways in which the teacher explained and enacted conflict and diversity in the classroom.

To understand the multi-voiced nature of interactions within hybrid encounters I turned to Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia.

Heteroglossia

Bakhtin's (1981) notion of heteroglossia illustrates how learning spaces are inherently multi-voiced; the concept involves dialogue between people, languages, and experiences was illustrated through Fairclough's (1992) description of social heteroglossia; how intertextual and interdiscursive social interactions can be. Conversation is a key feature within third space. In a conversation, participation is negotiated among all participants equally and results in the possibility of contesting the official discourse and assuming a critical stance. This symmetrical power relationship allows youth to incorporate their own narratives into the larger discourse and thus shift the discourse in a variety of ways. This form of engagement between youth and the adults who teach them provides methods for potential negotiations, construction of ideas, and mergers of world views (Gutiérrez, Rymes, & Larson, 1995).

Echoing Bakhtin's heteroglossia, Bhabha saw third space as both constituting and re-signifying cultural meanings.

Third space, though unpresentable in itself, …constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, re-historized and read anew. *Bhabha* (2010:55)

Bhabha's notion of third space has been adapted to critical literacy education (Krostogriz, 2002) and new literacy studies (Gutiérrez, 2002). The multiple voices and ways in which people within a speech community experience and interpret history are linked to an engagement with one's own and other people's memories, perceptions, and world views. Hybridity is, according to Gutiérrez's works, a fundamental heteroglossia, and for this study, hybridity and heteroglossia will be understood as narratives unfold. When youth and staff in after school programs come together in third space, they can evoke a hybrid discourse that transcends both the official and unofficial discourses, transforming talk and ideas, and opening new meanings. Within the after school program, youth are exposed to each other's multivocal voices and ingest new words and ways of interpreting the world around them.

Social and Cultural Capital

Bourdieu introduced his notion of cultural capital to explain how individual access to certain cultural signals (e.g. attitudes, tastes, and styles) either enables or limits a person's entry into high-status social groups. Cultural capital has been conceptualized across third space studies as part of intersecting cultural norms (Gutiérrez, Rymes, & Larson, 1995; Baquedano- López & Tejeda, 1999).

Drawing upon Bakhtin's idea of 'underlife' in talk, Gutiérrez et al. (1999) conceptualized discursive spaces as the third space where competing discourses position difference into areas of collaboration and learning. Carter (2003) further developed the third space concept and

connected it to linguistic capital (codes). Carter analyzed interviews with African American high school aged youth concerning their linguistic and social choices in and out of school contexts, and found that students identified within their own behaviors or by their peers. Youth used linguistic codes as markers of identifying other members of one's community or for othering people from the group (hybridity and borderland). The non-dominant linguistic markers described were also associated with negative ideologies about African American children in schools, as well as out of school.

It was commonly taught in colleges of education that cultural and linguistic differences provide opportunities to enrich learning. The linguistic and cultural capital that children bring with them to school and after school experiences has been found to enhance learning and stimulate new forms of learning (Stephens & Alfred, 2014; Catapano & Gray, 2015; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & González, 1992). Undoubtedly, many marginalized groups rejected and/or negotiated their literacy practices within schools. Traditionally, school literacy practices often denied marginalized groups a sense of who they are (Delpit, 1994; Gee, 2012); despite efforts to embrace culturally relevant practices within the field of education (Pane, 2007), there still exists a larger social capital system that preferences institutionalized practices over that of many marginalized groups. For example, Hull and Schultz (2002) warn that researchers and practitioners cannot assume that listeners always grant those who are speaking and writing from marginalized populations the 'right to speak' in the classroom or after school.~~..~~ I believe that these moments of contention, negotiation, and conflict are prime linkages to third space theory that are still in need of unpacking and further investigation from the perspective of the child as well as the staff member.

Identity and Negotiation

The hybrid identity is positioned in third space as the conjunction of cultures. The hybrid strategy opens a third space for re-articulation of negotiation and meaning (Bhabha, 1996). Observations of culture that were analyzed within studies of third space identity can be seen as "the system of activities with its own rules, artifacts, social roles, and ecological settings creating its own culture" (Leander, 2002, pg. 213). Within those systems, youth continue to move between identities. As described by Hull and Greeno (2006), I understood identity in different was in respect to interactions and context. For example, the idea that positionality determines identities, and identity as connected with entering a discourse. The third space perspectives were described as metaphorical places where identities could be more readily negotiated. Keith and Pile (1993) said that these theories have consistently drawn on spatial metaphors such as position, location, situation, and more. While the spatial metaphors used to compress narratives to understand identity, what was not clear was how the spatial relationships they index were related to the productions and interpretations in activity.

For example, Hull and Greeno (2006) described how identity and agency were shaped by and with out-of-school practices. Youth and staff interactions and positioning within after school programs, highlighted ways youth developed identities with agency. One assumption within their study pertained to schools not allowing full agency for youth. Identity was also viewed from an institutional and individual level (Hull, 2002,2012; Hull and Greeno, 2006) by shifting between positioning of individuals to the ways in which agencies were positioning their staff and youth. "After-school programs have the opportunity to use community knowledge and community connections" (Hull & Greeno, 2006), and incorporating stakeholders from schools and other academic settings such as colleges/universities. However, Hull (2012) problematized these

partnerships by questioning whether the after school spaces should be extensions of the academic school day.

Hull and Schultz (2002) further expanded on the ways in which youth negotiated their literacy identities in school and out-of-school. Referencing Dyson's research on bringing out-of-school literacy practices into the classroom, they question the boundary crossing that occurs between school settings and after school programs because literacy practice may lose some of their appeal for students. Alternatively, children's literate identities may not match the curricula found within schools, and so out-of-school settings provided outlets for students to explore and experiment with learned literacy strategies within communities they trust. This concept was extended by Moje and Lewis (2007) in their discussion of the roles of identity in the learning process. They proposed that people are members of various discourse communities and enact various identities that are recognized by the communities with which they associate. While the students described in the research of Hull and Schultz may have strong literate identities outside of school, those identities may not transfer to the classroom settings based on the discourse communities present.

Leander (2002) proposed a unique approach to understanding activity and identity across spaces. He explored the array of activities across multiple systems (horizontal analysis) and dynamic social spaces. Within this project, I too follow a horizontal model of polycontextuality. Within this model, the co-construction of multiple communities of practice served to understand multiple identities across activities. The expansion of non-formal space within the Center and at their school site could create new contexts to renegotiate and expand youth and staff identities across activities

Third Space Collaborations

Collaborations became a defining aspect of the after school movement, reflecting a prevalent discourse in society that welcomed the benefits of working together to create continued learning opportunities. Numerous researchers have sought to define collaborative work between after school programs and universities (Cole, Griffin, LCHC, 1987; McNamee & Sivright, 2002). Cole (1996), found many benefits in collaborative efforts between schools and after school programs, but also recognized varying goals between the institutions. Many collaborative partnerships called for the after school programs to utilize particular curricular system, thus serving to alter the outcomes for many of these programs. Marilyn Johnston (2000) wrote that, "collaboration… depends on relationships that must be nurtured and attended to in ways that more hierarchical arrangements do not" (p.3). Within these forms of partnerships, research shows that after school programs often bow to the curricular and learning needs of the schools.

It is hardly surprising that the collaborations noted above do not account for the home cultures and communities that youth are bringing to after school programs. Across the studies of collaboration, none addressed the tensions between micro-level practices and cultures. The following sections on third space theory will expand upon this tension within literacy research.

Another form of collaboration stemmed from the research of Peck, Flower, and Higgins (1995). Their research focused on the collaborative efforts between a university and local community centers. From that research, Flower (1997) went on to explore the collaborative nature of multicultural community-based dialogue. The hybrid nature of the discourse found during problem solving interactions revealed hybrid language practices between university students and the children at the community center. Like Hull and Schultz (2002), my study

explored how well have past researchers illustrated the ways in which hybrid discourses express multiculturalism within an interaction [space]?

National-local tensions. Among recently published studies of after school programs and learning, Halpern (2002) traced the origins of after school programs to community concerns in the 1900s about the safety and care of children living in unsafe neighborhoods, and the need for child care as more women began entering the workforce. Only recently had policymakers claimed that after school programs should seek to increase student achievement in schools (Halpern, 2002). Thus, after school programs have a long history, and their development reflects societal concerns with social and educational achievement of youth. More recently, scholars and researchers have debated whether after school centers should align themselves with school-based standards and programs, given that studies have shown little to no effects of academic performance due to after school participation. Nine years after the Halpern (2002) report, Hynes and Sanders (2011) explored the maintenance of ideologies that marginalized students perform below standardized scores in school and in after school contexts. In the nine years of funding for these programs and efforts to re-create literacy practices from the community within schools (Hull & Schultz, 2002), there has been no recognizable progress in terms of academic performance. Numerous studies show that few to no academic improvements are shown student assessments (Hynes & Sanders, 2011; Alvermann & Moore, 2011; Lee & Hawkins, 2008) in school. The evidence led me to question why academic programs were not as successful within after school contexts, as they are hypothesized to be within schools.

The review of research posed key issues related to the success of academic programs in the after school environment. Despite many efforts to replicate school-based approaches in after

school programs, there was little transferability, as seen in math and reading scores. These more recent facts are explained in more detail within *Chapter 5*.

Access, Race, and Equity. Milner (2016), presented the question "Why race?" to an audience of literacy researchers from across the United States. Remembering that most participants in after school programming are from African American and low-income families, I felt that the same question should be applied when trying to understand disparities between after school programs,. A review of recent literature revealed that national views of after school programs shifted. Historically, after school centers used to provide additional support to parents who work past the end of the school day. These centers also served as school supports when they include homework time for children and integrate academic programs into their curricula. Hynes and Sanders (2011) studied various experiences of different racial groups in after school programs. Hynes and Sanders (2011) reported that African American children are more likely to use after school programs than that of their White peers, and that most children who participate in after school programs live in 'urban' areas. Within their study, urban was a term not expanded upon, so it is assumed to mean cities with high concentrations of people. Halpern and Sanders (2011) also discovered that there are more options for after school programs in the Southern part of the United States, which has a larger portion of African American students (After School Alliance, 2009; Hynes and Sanders, 2011), however quality of programs became a concern when compared to that of their White peers. Because such a large portion of children's time is spent away from school, access to quality after school programs may be linked to differences in African American's achievement in school. According to Downey, von Hippel, and Broh (2004), inequality between students grew when youth were away from school, highlighting variables associated with quality out of school programs (which include after school centers). Inevitably,

funding for social, academic, and enrichment programs is a large determinant of who is able to attend. In fact, an earlier study by Halpern (1999) noticed this trend among after school programs. He found that low-income attendance and participation in programs were heightened when the cost of attendance was low or non-existing. Greater financial cost was a factor in decreasing student participation and has implications for diversity.

Third Space Learning and Literacy Research

A final condition of third space research reviewed here are the defining characteristics of literacy learning and the notions of text across the research. Scholars have rarely found third space interactions in the content area classrooms they studied (Gutiérrez, Rymes, and Larson, 1995; Moje, Ciechanowski, and Athan, 2001., I believe that third space can routinely be explored in after school spaces.

Third space learning is the process of new learning spaces in education. The learning occurs in hybrid, networked, in-between, multimodal, and open time. The learning is situated in the context of everyday experiences of participation within the world. Cook (2005) envisioned areas in the classroom as sites of child-produced materials that include everyday resources from their home and school. Within the role-play space, she observed a blending of languages between the home and school and the various roles that students and teachers would take within that area of the classroom. Similar to Cook's understanding of the environment and pedagogical practices producing third spaces, this study builds upon this understanding by envisioning an entire center as the third space that was co-constructed by the staff and youth it serves in the community. Aspects of schooling are present between the months of August and May (typical school year calendar), but there are additional inputs from the community.

Regarding the profound transformations that after school centers are now undergoing, the increasing permeability of its borders that once separated it from the world beyond, and the gathering storm of corporate and community influences, are changing its character. This presents a prime example of why researchers should return to research in this context with a focus on language and literacy practices.

Review of Literature

Third Space Theory in studies of after school research

The most commonly cited researchers for third space theory are Moje et al. (2004) and Gutiérrez, Baquedano- López, and Tejeda (2000). While Bhabha (1994) is mentioned at length, his approach focuses on hybridity theory.

Moje et al. (2004) began as a community ethnography spanning at least six years, which also reached into the school setting. Their study pulled from sociocultural, discourse, and cultural theories to shape their theoretical approach. Over a six year period, they followed 30 youth from different neighborhoods within the community, and in the process developed close relationships with youth and teacher participants. From these interactions, researchers captured observations, surveys, interviews, documents, photographs, and school curriculum items. Researchers focused on the funds of knowledge that the children brought with them from the home and community into school and after school programming. When it came time to situate the school, individuals, and the community, the history of the community was missing from those discussions.

Glynda Hull and Katherine Schultz have conducted research on after school sites. In 2002, they focused on hybridity in an after school program as part of a larger ethnography. They highlight two cases of hybrid practices as children interact with students from the university. While their descriptions focus on two cases, their methodological approach was an ethnography.

No additional methods were outlined in the chapter, but one can find evidence of interviews and detailed descriptions of the participants, as well as some background on the university students included in the findings.

Why ethnographic case study.

In this section, I discuss how research using third space theory has been conducted. Specifically, I focus on the methodological approaches that researchers used to answer their questions about the children and adults in those settings. The studies reviewed utilized qualitative ethnography, multiple case study methods, and action research to explore third space theory. The earliest studies found used ethnographic methods of exploration, while more recent studies relied on case study methods. None of the qualitative studies considered the third space theoretical approaches found in some of the qualitative studies. Of the studies utilizing third space theory in after school contexts, most of the researchers utilized ethnographic approaches to understanding the ways boundaries were blurred so that learning and knowledge were readily exchanged. Of those studies, I looked deeply at the methods used within two of those studies.

Levy (2008) conducted a multiple case study with a focus on five children within a nursery class. The nursery school was situated within a larger school environment that hosted 414 children. Data collected though games and other activities that the children had experienced at home or in school settings. The researcher conducted observations and interviews to build robust comparisons between the children's experiences and understandings of literacy. Levy's use of multiple case study helped me develop sound approaches to looking at multiple locations for this study. Levy also framed the context of the study by including commonly held perceptions of the location and achievement to build the case for the study. In this way, her inclusion of deeper context inspired my archival data approach for the two sites.

Secondly, Razfar (2012) used case study methods to explore the ways bilingual Latino/a children participated in after school club. The implications of race and language on the interactions with staff and volunteers added to the complexity of her analysis. This model helped re-emphasize the need to highlight the youth being studied and ways fieldwork can give voice to marginalized groups.

Summary: Toward a sociocultural-third space analysis of after school activity

By focusing on local language practices rather than local community practices, my project seeks to contribute to studies of third space (Gutiérrez, 2002, 2008; Gutiérrez, Baquedano- López, Alvarez, & Chiu, 1999; Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, & Tejeda, 1999) in terms of the after school center as a liaison between social policy and schools. After school centers are crucial sites for such a study due to their role as a center for learning and as a filter for community events. Given the inclusion of multiple discourse groups within the after school center and the historical impact of the after school center on the community, this project also seeks to contribute to understanding the new literacy research (Gee, 2011) on culture, community, and language practices.

In presenting Bhabha's model of third space, I am aware of criticisms that his theory is problematic. Within his model, he neglected to conceptualize the historical and material conditions that would emerge within a colonial discourse analysis framework (Meredith, 1998). Criticisms include the concept of hybridity being overused amongst researchers and the simplified methods of analysis that neglect tenets of third space theory (Cawley, 2018). However, it is my belief that literacy researchers utilizing third space theory have negotiated and moved the theory forward. Hybridity, as described in recent literacy studies, refers to a field of

interactions and the place of negotiation where cultures and identities can be adjusted and altered.

Gaps in the research. While many third space studies focus on classroom experiences, there are some that highlight interactions occurring in after school spaces. The research presented in this review highlights trends in literacy research in after school contexts as well as newer methodological approaches to understanding the systematic and environmental factors that impact learning in these spaces. Within the review of research, four key points prompted my interest in pursuing this study. First, none of the third space studies reviewed highlighted the strength and resilience of youth served by the organizations. As stated previously, the majority of after school programs are situated within low-income or urban areas. Youth in those areas present distinct characteristics than those of youth from wealthier backgrounds. Second, the role of after school environments in expanding youths' opportunities for language use was somewhat underexplored. Third, the role and impact of collaborative efforts between after school programs and other agencies has not been carefully studied. While multiple studies have highlighted the role that universities play in working with after school programs, fewer studies have discussed the role of community organizations pairing together with after school programs to enhance learning. Lastly, in the wake of recent political changes to after school funding and academic impact, a deeper look at how research and practice differ in their definitions of literacy development are needed. These four gaps show a need for research that explores these roles within after school settings, with a focus on African American youth and climate.

Third space theory is a powerful and complex foundation for developing theories of language practice within a specified space. After school centers have yet to be thoroughly investigated using third space theory. These spaces are said to embrace culture and diversity,

promote improved social interactions. The exploration of literacy practices related to language use was one of the ways to better understand the perspectives that are held in after school settings and inform how the school and community are growing closer or are growing apart.

In summary, this review of literature motivated and shaped the current study by identifying gaps within the research, highlighting methodological approaches commonly used, and to describe multiple layers of understanding within third space theory.

Chapter 3

Methods and Methodology

"Churches, like schools and other educational settings, are instrumental in providing opportunities to learn, but they also reproduce the status quo"

(Baquedano-López, 2004, p. 229).

In this chapter, I discuss how I conducted this study in Twin City (pseudonym) where there are a limited number of after school programs available to parents. I also detail the qualitative methods and processes of the study, including design, research methodology, context (the sites), participants, data collection, positionality, and analysis.

Research Design

A case study design was selected based upon the review of earlier studies that utilized third space theory and other studies of after school centers discussed in *Chapter 2*. I used qualitative methods to explore the relationship between institution and staff practices, ideologies about youth within curricula, and negotiations of identity. Lastly, the role of climate across all three areas was applied to the analysis of data. Qualitative research, as defined by Stake (2010), is an interpretive, experiential, situational, and personal activity that places the researcher in the world of the participants. The practices observed and the representations, interviews, and field notes collected helped make this world visible. The ways in which the researcher interprets these gives the readers a lens by which to understand the phenomena described. Qualitative research seeks to understand "how human things work in certain situations" (Stake, 2010, p. 14). The questions posed in this study match well with case study design and qualitative methods of research. I intend to answer 'how' and 'what' questions that required close observations and detailed descriptions of the participants and their environment.

Research Methodology

This study utilized ethnographic case study methods to explore the research questions listed in *Chapter 1*. By compiling basic data on the site concerning the population, statistics, and other relevant information, I was able to make preliminary interpretations about the focal population I spent time with, and gained access into the community (Gottlieb, 2006). In this section, I detail the approaches utilized within this third space research study to help understand phenomena and patterns as they appear within my data collection.

Ethnographic Approaches

Ethnography, as defined by Gottlieb (2006), has three fundamental presuppositions: (1) data is created by human experience, (2) data is influenced by the context, and (3) data is a product of the researcher and the participants together. Ethnographic fieldwork involves negotiations, as social and economic differences between the research and participants continuously structure their interactions. According to Forsythe (1999), ethnographic research involves three distinct aspects: (1) data-gathering methods (participant observation, interviews, documented sources), (2) methods are grounded in theory, and (3) a philosophical stance that situates the researcher so that he/she can develop a systematic comparison of perspectives and events. Wedin (2004) adds to this definition by calling for researchers to contextualize observations of literacy use and practices in holistic and contextual ways, so that one can have a cross-cultural picture of the phenomena of study. Ethnographic approaches have been loosely defined by researchers as utilizing aspects of traditional ethnographic approaches.

Case Study

The second design feature I used in this study was case study. Dyson and Genishi (2005) state that "the aim of case studies isn't to compare variables, but instead to see what phenomenon

means as it is socially acted out within a case" (p. 10). Case study research is dialogic and involves defining and redefining (Dyson, 1995) my understandings of language and literacy practices at the research site. This dialogic progression was important due to my position at the site and the changing lens I used to observe and interact with participants at the site.

The study was a collective (Stake, 1995) case study. A case is a specific and complex functioning thing that has a boundary and working parts, rather than being at one program location, the case boundary was extended to two programs due to an expansion of the program midway through data collection. The multiple case study approach offered strong potential for strong findings across a variety of program locations (stand alone or situated within schools).

Stake(1995) proposed categories to describe the roles of the researcher in case studies: (1) intrinsic, (2) instrumental, and (3) collective. In a collective case study, the researcher coordinates data from several sources. The researcher tries to understand and make interpretations about a phenomenon and describe what it is like to be there. For this study, I relied on collective approaches to capture the lived experiences of the participants at the after school center. Data was gathered from observations, interviews, archival newspaper searches, and field notes.

Activity Theory within Third Space Theory

As discussed in Chapter 2, Third Space is an activity system (Gutiérrez, 2008) that emphasizes heterogeneity as an organizing principle. Activity theory is at the core of understanding how third space theorists have come to understand interactions between subjects and where hybrid systems also emerge. Engestrom(1987) proposed diagram of activity, later adapted and refined by Gutiérrez et al. (2009), to illustrate how local knowledge from youth, division of labor within an organization, and social organization within settings leads to new

activities and outcomes. The outcomes were largely based on the Center's national curriculum and goals decided upon during state, regional, and national conferences held throughout the year. By recognizing the many factors involved in the organization, I was able to better track, observe, and understand how informal learning took place, and how language practices and cultural practices of youth and staff shaped the learning environment.

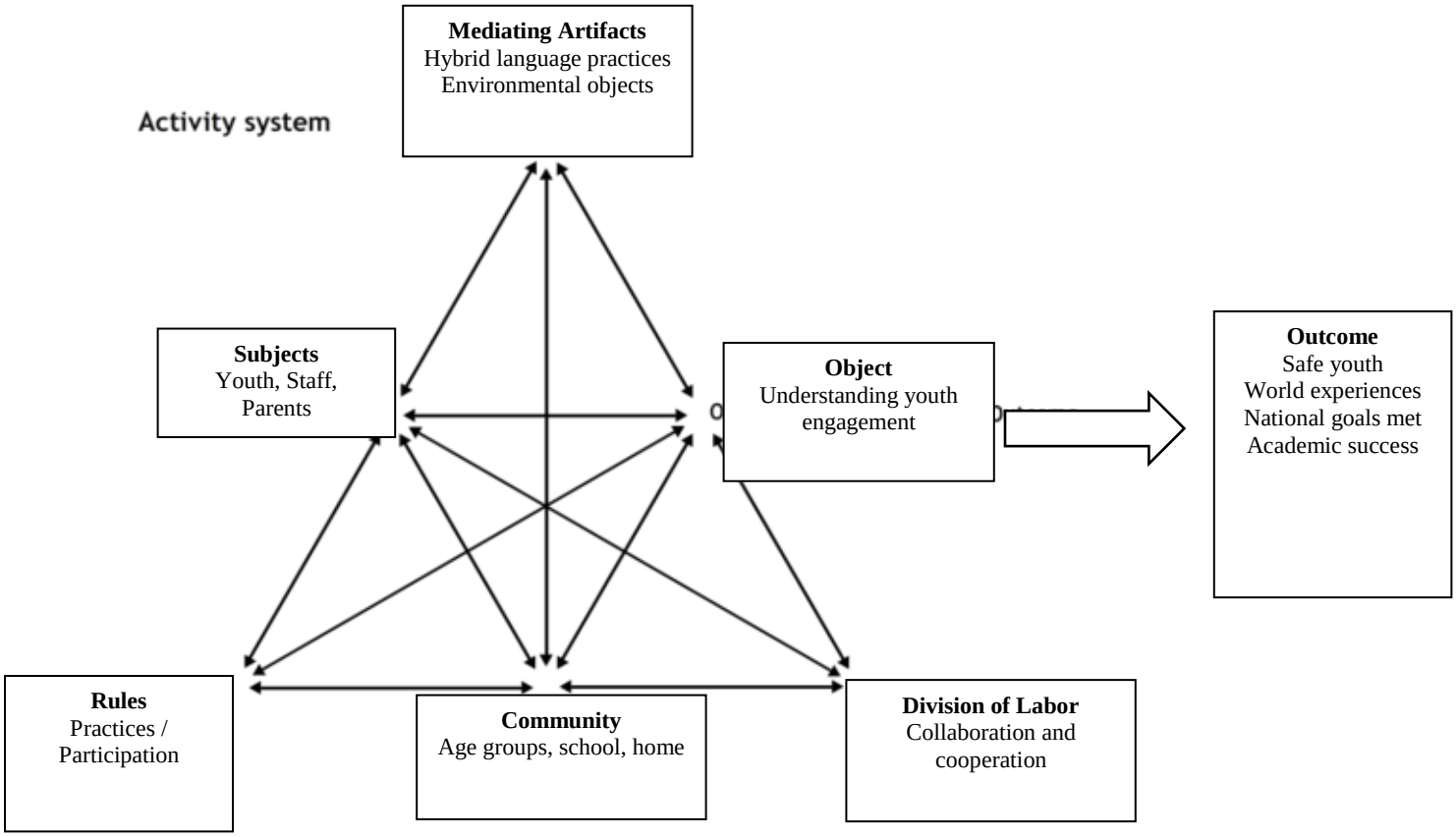


Figure 3.1. Gutiérrez's adaptation of Engerstrom's activity theory model as applied to the research site.

Figure 3.1, showed the organization of activities, subjects, and rules (broadly speaking) at the research site with the ultimate outcome centered around youth learning and institutional goals.

Because I theorized the entire Center as a site of third space activity, it was considered to be a non-formal space for learning.

Methodology Overview

My desire to understand language socialization and practices grew from my experiences working with the organization where I conducted my study. A major tenet of qualitative research is not the process of doing research, but instead it is to learn from the people you are observing (Spradley, 1980). My research applied on third space theory as a base for ethnographic methods. After school programs were considered spaces of multiple activities that were systematic and functioning within larger designs. Through the use of tools, actors could change and move beyond events and practices. Yet, how were the social and local practices negotiated? Gee (2012) writes:

> Meanings are ultimately rooted in negotiation between different social practices with different interests by people [or institutions] who share or seek to share some common ground. Power plays an important role in these negotiations. The negotiations can be settled for the time being, in which case meaning becomes conventional and routine… Negotiations which constitute meaning are limited by values emanating from communities or from attempts by people to establish and stabilize enough common ground to agree on meaning…. (p. 23-24)

As the above quote indicates, for youth and staff to transcend the ordinary talk of their communities and institutions (academic), the spaces in which they find themselves at the Center must provide them with opportunities for negotiation and meaning making. Meaning is thus an element of culture that individuals negotiate and contest in social spaces. Language use and

language practices are part of the meaning making taking place, being shaped, and developed within these events.

Indeed, the focus of my study is on the overarching concept of third space, as well as the language socialization and practices that are formed within these spaces. My description of the context includes an in-depth look at the ideologies, identities, and discourse communities that were a part of this particular after school environment. By focusing on ideologies, identities, and discourse communities at this site, I was able to analyze potential conditions for learning and when those conditions have truncated.

Research Sites

This ethnographic case study was situated in two after school sites in a small urban community in Central Illinois: the main organization site located near the twin-city line, and a secondary site located within a local elementary school. Here I described the larger context of the sites and their role in the community. A more extensive description of each site follows in *Chapter 4.*

Twin City Context

The community context for this study was a city of approximately 128,000 residents (Census, 2015) called Twin City (pseudonym). A varied economic base consisting of health care, manufacturing, retail, technology, higher education, and arts was found in Twin City. Curb Community Center (Center) was one of three major after school providers serving local school districts. This community was home to a public university situated between two cities with a large transient population of college students and professors. The percentage of foreign-born persons is close to 20% (Census, 2015), including many universities.

Twin City, IL was a dual city with East and West divisions. There were similar racial and ethnic populations in both divisions, with the strongest variant being the number of people living within the city limits. The western part of the city had a population of 83,000 people, while eastern part had a population of almost 42,000. The racial constitution of residents within the two cities can be seen below in *Table 3.1*. Black and Latino people across the two cities were the lowest percentage groups.

Table 3.1

Twin City Demographic Data

	White	Black	Latino	Asian
East	61.9	16.3	4.9	18
West	68.6	15.6	5.8	12.2
Illinois	72.5	14.4	16.3	4.9
United States	73.8	12.6	16.9	5

Note. All numbers represent percentages from the 2010 U.S. Census Report (2015 numbers unavailable).

Curb Community Center attracts students from all 28 K-12 schools that serve the two cities. This Center was a non-for-profit youth development institution that provided after school programming for youth aged 5 to 11 and teen services for youth aged 12 to 18. The Center serves approximately 200 students between ages 5 and 18 five days a week. Most of the students who attend are from low-income and working-class homes, with most students being from African American backgrounds. In this chapter, I provide a detailed account of the Center's almost 50 years in the community, and I describe the Center's relevance, importance, and meaning to youth and staff across the community.

In response to a low number of high school graduates among African American and Latino residents, one of the Center's initiatives was academic achievement. According to organizational documents, 3 in 10 students who attended the Center would not graduate from high school within four years. The Center's vision for academic achievement states that each child who comes to the Center would graduate from high school with a plan for the future. To help children achieve the goals, the Center used a series of learning activities (curricula), attendance goals, and academic check-ins with local schools. Achieving high school attendance and graduation goals was a formidable challenge despite the City grants awarded to the center. For example, one grant in particular asked the Center's teen program to work with youth who have a high number of factors assumed to hinder their successful performance in school (e.g. previous arrests, single-family homes, racial/ethnic minority status, or a history of truancy, to name a few). These factors are identified from within the school setting, through law enforcement agencies tasked with cases, or through social work agencies that need to refer youth to 'healthy' afterschool options.

Funding for the after school program was closely tied to local concerns about crime. In 2006, the parks and recreation divisions called for additional funding for after school programs. The money would be used for teen and youth programming in response to an increase in teen crime (Gazette, July 4, 2006).

Main Site

The neighborhood where the Center was located was across the street from the local university that sends student volunteers to assist with the Center's day-to-day operations. On the other side of the Center there were residential homes, churches, and a few businesses. The major street that separated the Center from the university, according to people who live in the area, was

a type of boundary. Local media reports reflected and added to the boundary formed within this community. I began the study with many assumptions about the formation of these boundaries, based on conversations at the university and conversations with families who live in the northern parts of the city.

In *Figure 3.2,* I provide a blueprint of the first and second floors of the building. This building, which previously functioned as a church, underwent multiple changes to the main floor. The gym was added onto the building in 2005, and the multipurpose room was provided with a new kitchen in 2011. While recent updates prompted new programs and growth of the organization, the population served by the program did not change substantially, and the Center continued to serve primarily African American students from working class homes. There was a deeper history within Twin City that provided more details concerning the history of the community.

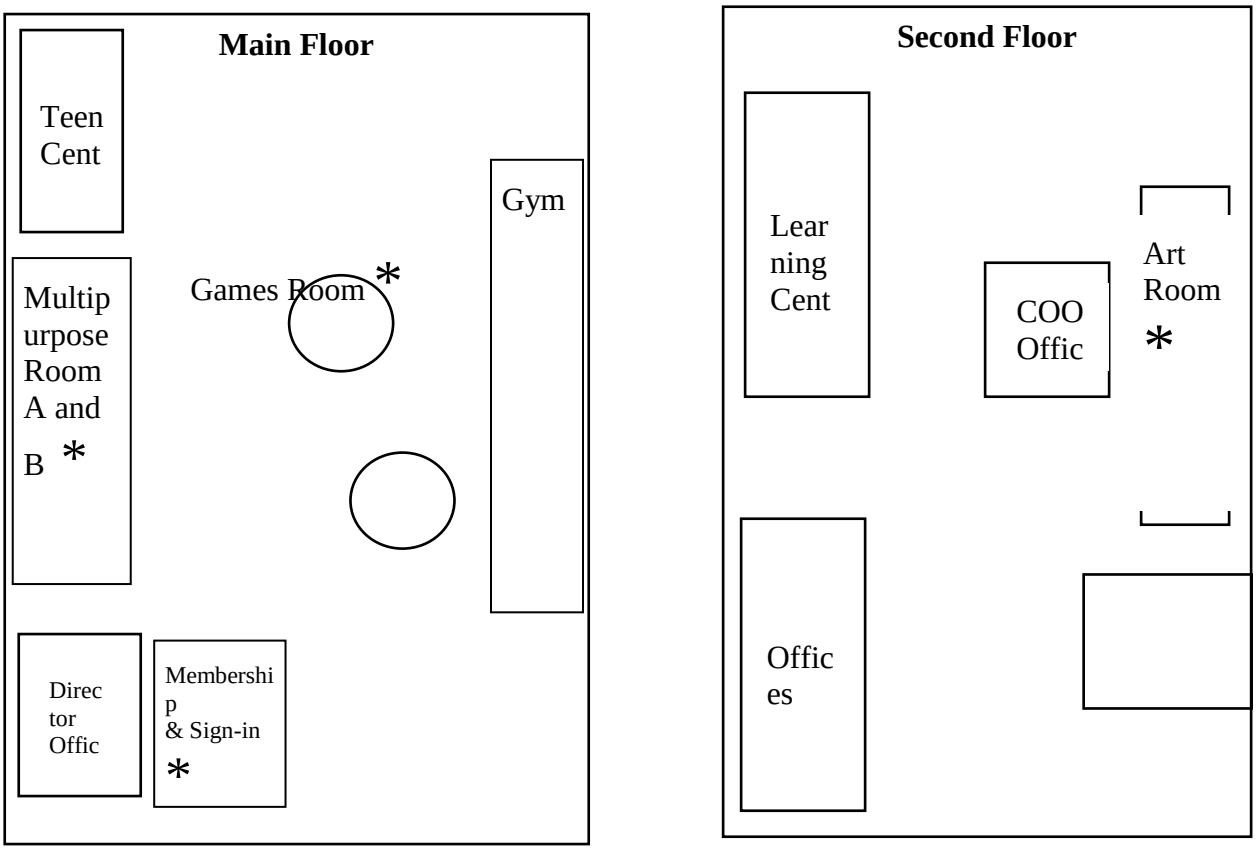


Figure 3.2. Map of the main site (Curb Community Center). Asterisks indicate primary areas for observations during the course of the study.

For example, Prochaska (2016) published a historical account of racial divides in the city from 1940-1960, and the university's connection to the divides. The northern part of the city was historically home to predominantly African American and more recently Latino families. In the 60s and 70s, there was a lack of student housing, and so many rented from local families. African American students would find housing in the northern parts of the city in 'shacks', while Caucasian students were more likely to find housing closer to campus.

The racial divides were only one of the divides noticed (*Figure 3.3*). The seemingly 'town and gown' dynamic also proliferated within the community. Over the course of the study, I continued to see evidence of the segregated housing patterns and continued economic divides in the community.

Figure 3.3. Map of Twin City with accompanying housing divides by race according to the 2010 Census.

School-based Site

The school-based site was initiated in March of 2017 following 2 ½ months of data collection at the main site due to another after school program leaving the school. There was another program also in operation at the school, but it had only two children enrolled. The Center program absorbed those children and the staff member who was employed. The school was the largest elementary school in Twin City and offered plenty of space for the organization to function. While the Center was a separate organization, many of the school's activities became a part of the day-to-day interactions and rules for the staff and youth.

Figure 3.4 outlines the spaces available to the after school program at the school, areas utilized during observations, and spaces that were removed from after school programming due to changing school needs. While the school did provide some notification for changes to the space, it was still a source of tension for the program.

As Hull and Schultz (2002) found, a constant tension for after school programs is the "extent to which they become school-like organizations" (p. 48). Being situated in the school caused a transformation in programming and routines observed. Additional adults (teachers) came to the program to visit and interact with staff and youth, but also fewer parents visited the building and spent time with the youth.

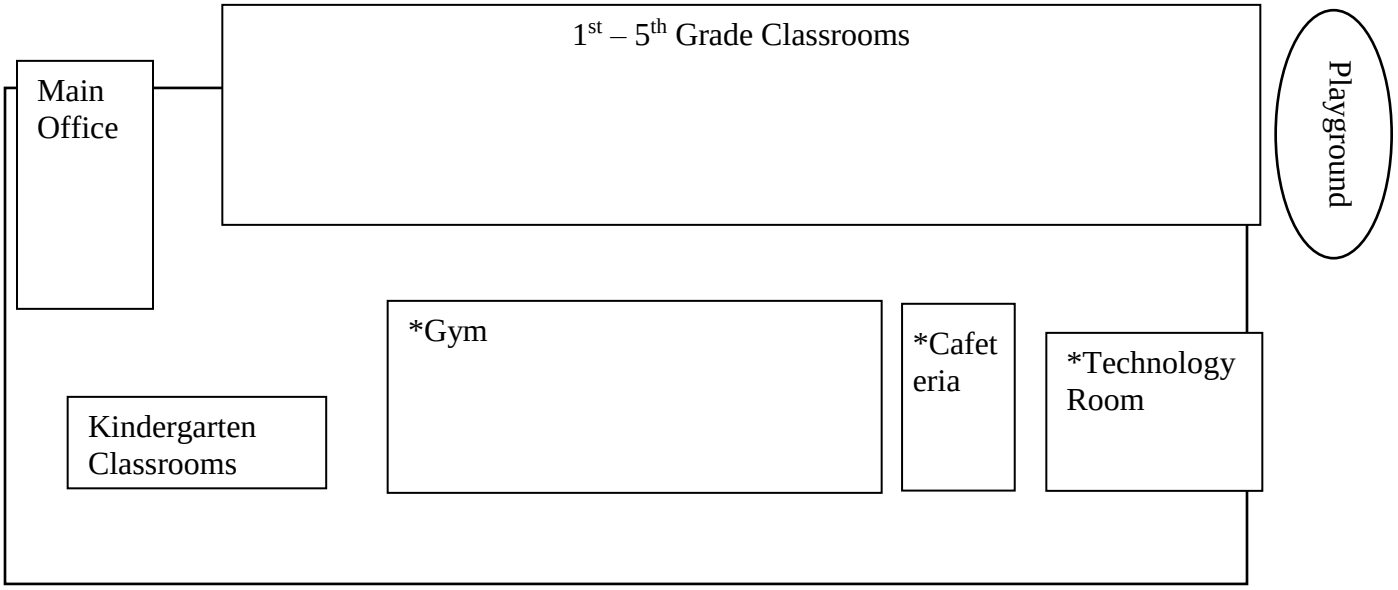


Figure 3.4. Map of school site. Asterisks indicate primary areas for observations during the course of the study.

Participants

Two primary groups of participants were engaged in this study: (1) youth and (2) staff. Below I provide general descriptions of the groups and trends in those populations as described in the research and through conversations with administrators. In later chapters, I will provide a more detailed account of who the participants are and their role, impact, and connection to the Center and the community.

Youth Participants

Over three-fourths of the students attending the Center are from low-income families, and ninety-eight percent were African American. *Table 3.2* provides details on the four youth who voluntarily agreed to participate, and from whom I obtained signed parent permission forms.

Table 3.2

List of youth interview participants.

	Steven	Julian	Laura	Kayla
Age	9	9	9	8
Hometown	IL	IL	IL	IL
Grade	4	4	4	3
Time Enrolled	2 yr.	3 yr.	1 mo.	2 yr.
Site	Center	Center	School	School

Youth participants, identified by pseudonym, were purposefully selected based on their enrollment and participation in programs at the Center. Purposeful sampling in case study research provides the researcher with the opportunity to select and learn from the most relevant participants based upon the phenomena being investigated. At the main site, I chose three youth after completing two weeks of observations. I sought participants who reflected the Center's range of youth participation and engagement with their peers and staff, and children's willingness to speak with me about their experiences. About ½ was through data collection, I transferred from the Center's main site to the school location. One of four youth transferred locations while completing observations at the school sire, a second youth was identified for the study. This allowed me two youth at each of the sites. I provided additional details about the youth's backgrounds in the following sections.

Steven. Steven was a 4th grade student at a year-round school during the 2016-2017 school year. I met Steven as part of a literacy program taking place at the Center. After meeting him and getting him established with a tutor, we formed a strong bond.

Julian. Julian was also a 4th grade student during the 2016-2017 school year, active in many organizations outside of school as well as multiple activities at the Center. His favorite activity is track. His mother is the President of the Parent Teacher Organization (PTO) and also works at Center. Quiet most of the time, Julian was good friends with Steven, but they were now in different groups. Julian moved to the Cadet (3rd to 6th grade youth) group at the beginning of the school year, while Steven remained with the Pals (Kindergarten to 3rd grade youth).

Lily. Lily was a 4th grade student in the 2016-2017 school year. This was her first time being a part of the Center's program. She was part of a close family who came together to pick her up on many occasions. Lily was active in the after school programs at the school. She also participated in choir and the girls' empowerment group at her school. While she provided an interview and early observation data, she joined additional after school programs at her school, which limited her attendance at the Center's school site.

Kayla. Kayla was a 3rd grade student in the 2016-2017 school year. She originally went to the Center's main location, but the addition of the school location prompted her parents to move her to the school site. She was athletic and competitive. The physical education (P.E.) teacher from the school commented on her ability to beat many of the boys at basketball and in general competitions. She was often found amongst the 'older' students. Her brother was a 5th grader in the group; however, I rarely observed them interacting together.

Staff Participants

Eight staff worked with the Center's after school youth. Of those staff, three are coordinators, two work with the 5 – 11-year-old youth, and three work with the teen group (ages 12-18 years). Most of the employees at the Center were African American, matching the population of youth served. The administrators at the Center were predominately male, with three women in leadership positions.

The coordinators all have academic degrees from varying fields of study. The academic coordinator earned a bachelor's degree from a university in Arizona. The recreation coordinator earned an associate degree from a liberal arts college in Illinois. The teen coordinator earned her master's degree from a university in Illinois. All three coordinators were born and raised in the state of Illinois, but none were born in Twin City, the community featured in this study. The coordinators also have the longest tenure with the organization, outside of the administrators. *Table 3.2* provides the full listing of staff interviews I conducted. However, only five of the individuals provided ongoing data in the form of multiple interviews throughout the study. These five individuals have been given additional sections below.

Table 3.3

List of all interviewed staff.

	Allison	Thomas	Destiny	Julia	Amos	Bailey	Taylor	Ava	Bret
Home state	IL	MI	IL	IL	IL	IL	IL	IL	IL
Education	MSW	MSW	Assoc.	BA	BA	Assoc.	HS	Some college	BA
Time with Organization	1 yr.	3 yr.	4 yr.	2 yr.	2 yr.	8 mo.	8 mo.	4 mo.	2 mo.
Position	Coord.	Director	Coord.	Coord.	Coord.	Staff	Staff	Staff	Intern

Thomas. Thomas was a nationally recognized member of the organization and the Director of Programming. He was originally from the state of Wisconsin and had come to the Twin City to pursue his master's degree in social work (MSW). While many of the other employees came into the job with limited background knowledge about the organization, Thomas was a former member during his youth and had remained with the organization throughout his college and professional career. Thomas emphasized community amongst staff and youth. He was often found walking through the Center and interacting playfully with others.

Julia. Julia was the academic program coordinator and a former Peace Corps member. She hailed from the state of IL, received her bachelor's degree in Arizona, and lived in Zimbabwe for two years. She had worked at the Center for a year prior to our meeting, and had many experiences working with youth in after school spaces. From the beginning of the study, she served as my primary source of information on the program structure and growth of the Center in the time since she had arrived.

Destiny. Destiny was the staff member with the longest tenure (6 years). She had been working with the organization through three major administrative changes. She too was a significant source of information regarding the history of the organization and its role in the community. Destiny also had her son enrolled in the after school program.

Bailey. Bailey was a program associate who worked with the 3rd to 6th grade group. She was hired during the early portion of the research. She formerly worked with the younger age groups, but due to program transitions was moved to work with the Cadets (3rd to 6th grade youth). Bailey had worked in childcare over the last 3 years and had hopes of opening her own child care center in the future. She envisioned that her experiences at the Center would help propel her into opening her own after school site.

Taylor. Taylor was a program associate who worked with the 1st to 3rd grade group (Pals). She was hired during the early portion of the research. Taylor commuted from a neighboring town with strong rivalries with Twin City. Taylor did not possess any formal training with youth, however she was excited to learn more about childcare. Her family had encouraged her to pursue a path towards earning a certified nurse's assistant (CNA) certification, but she wanted to work more closely with youth. However, in later conversations after the study concluded I learned of her departure from the Center to earn her CNA.

Bret. Bret was a social work intern from the neighboring university and was born and raised in Twin City. He was connected to the Center through his parent's relationship with the CEO of the organization, and he knew some of the families whose children attended the Center. While he presented a lot of confidence in his relationships with staff and others, he spoke more candidly about his apprehension about planning and implementation. He was presented with an offer to work for the Center post-graduation, but he chose to seek opportunities in the western part of the United States.

Data Collection and Resources

Data collection occurred during the Spring and Summer of 2017. All data gathered from participant resources were collected with explicit permission from the organization and participants in full compliance with Institutional Review Board (IRB) guidelines.

Yin (2014) suggests six sources of evidence when completing a case study: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation, and physical artifacts. This study draws from each of the six categories listed. Following Yin (2014), data collected for this study was organized into two categories: primary and secondary. Primary data was the data I collected myself. Secondary data were sources that already existed (*Table*

3.4), including newspapers (archival), training materials, and demographic information from the site.

Field Observations / Field Notes

Similar to interviews, observations were conducted carefully with strict consideration for the research participants, as observations represent a snapshot of the lived experience of the phenomena of interest to the study. Observations were gathered 4 to 5 days a week over the course of the study and involved recording detailed ethnographic field notes methods of each observation session. Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (2011) described how ethnographers create descriptive accounts of experiences and observations while in the field to capture, as closely as possible, the lived experiences of the participants and then placing those experiences into words so that they correspond accurately with the observations. The process of perception and interpretation became critical as I was writing from multiple positions within the organization (staff and co-worker) and outside the organization (researcher and educator).

Table 3.4

Sources of data divided into primary and secondary sources.

Primary		**Secondary**	
Source	Amount	Source	Amount
• **Interview data** • **Student work** • **Lesson plans** • **Field notes** • **Questionnaires** • **Observations** • **Visual representations (photos and drawings)**	14 30 73 64 0 6 months 28	• Training materials • Official statistics • Historical data and information • Newspaper articles on the site	12 3 3 informants 41

Interviews

The use of interviews are standards in ethnographic and case study research (Dyson & Genishi, 2005, Melhuus, Mitchell, & Wulff, 2012; Stake, 1978). The interaction between researcher and participant through the interview process was one of the most common and powerful ways of trying to understand our fellow humans (Fontana & Prokos, 2007). Interviews with the participants were semi-structured; this provided for greater breadth than did other forms of structured interviews, and allowed me to move between interviewer and participant observer roles (Fontana & Prokos, 2007). Okely (2012) notes that semi-structured interviews allow for true participant observation perspectives. The interviews allow the researcher to build rapport and trust before introducing a tape recorder to the interactions (p. 39). Fontana and Prokos (2007) also found that the heart of semi-structured interviewing is "the establishment of a human-to-human relation with the respondent and the desire to understand rather than to explain" (p. 41). The rapport building that takes place with semi-structured interviews was important to this study based upon my relationship with the participants and establishing my role as a researcher versus employee/co-worker. Additionally, semi-structured interviews allowed for expansion of participant responses, developing new questions from the field, and incorporating observations for clarification.

Youth and staff interviews. Interviews with staff and youth were audio taped, provided to the participants for review and member checking, and transcribed using digital resources. I chose to include member checking because it is considered an important method for verifying and validating information observed by the researcher (Stake, 1995). Handwritten notes and anecdotal notes were gathered during the interviews for the purposes of extending questions or as

the researcher's personal notes for further investigation. The interviews were conducted at the site, but accommodations were made for participants' schedules.

Artifacts and Staff Materials

Artifact collection was a less intrusive method of collecting data from the sites and provided detail and evidence of corroboration or contradiction as compared with other collected data (Merriam, 1998). Case studies using collective methods (Stake, 1995) draw from a variety of sources to build the case(s). In this study, I used collective methods by drawing from multiple sources to learn more about the sites, the community, and the participants. I gathered historical newspaper articles to gain understanding of the history of the site. I also collected historical and current statistical data about the community to increase my contextual knowledge about the site. Lastly, I collected current training materials and student work samples for further review. Training materials were collected during staff meetings that were held weekly.

One limitation of artifacts was their purpose. Yin (2003) cautions that while gleaning material from artifacts, researchers must recall that these artifacts were designed for purposes other than research and, therefore, they should use these sources carefully. For example, newspaper articles could be politically influenced and always include biases on the part of the author and the organization, to name but two. Secondly, training materials were not always developed at the local level. In this case, the site was part of a larger national network. Some of the training materials were expected to represent a combination of national and local initiatives.

The interview protocols, observations, and artifact collection are designed to investigate further the central research questions as well as issues raised by the literature review; the focus is on after school sites and integration of newer methods for exploration.

Positionality

I approached this study with previous experience as a teacher in elementary school for seven years, an after school director of a non-profit agency for four years, a graduate student in curriculum and instruction, a literacy coordinator at the site, and a university teaching assistant in literacy and teacher pedagogy for three years. All told, I had worked with youth and teachers for more than a decade when I began the study.

Researcher Positionality. My interest in conducting this study came about through my investigations of self; my struggles as a teacher of working class, multilingual, and African American children; and my interest in children's learning through out-of-school experiences. My research interests in language socialization developed across several experiences. I believe that education takes place in a variety of settings, including school, church, and after school centers. Formal education provides only one piece of the child's experiences. However, each child learns the same material in different and complex ways. This is how I approached my classroom when I taught 3rd and 4th grade. These experiences have helped broaden my understanding of literacy development, use, and practices across learning contexts.

Historically, in educational and after school settings, women dominated the program and teaching profession, while men held the bulk of the leadership roles as principals, CEOs, etc. The same was true of my past and current experiences in the field of education and after school work. While gender was not the focus of my research, I believed that gendered positions played a role in how youth develop certain language practices, how they interacted within a setting, and what those experiences taught them about the world around them. At the Center, all the administrators were men. Recreation positions were filled by male coordinators and staff, while academic program positions were dominated by women. These circumstances shaped how I viewed some

of the decisions being made within the organization when compared to my early conversations with staff and youth about their participation in activities and aspirations to move ahead within the organization.

Employee Positionality. My cultural heritage, the historical landscape of urban education, as well as the contextual nature of race, class, and gender all influenced how I understand literary practices in after school settings. I am an African American female from an emergent urban environment and was raised by two college-educated parents. My understanding of what literacy is and should be understood to be in an educational setting was highly influenced by these experiences as well as the schooling I received at universities. With this understanding also came an awareness of the systemic and organizational barriers and structures that shaped how local after school programs could function based upon state-wide and regional funding sources.

Data Analysis

Analysis of all the data included a four-part process that moved from general observations to more focused observations. This study was grounded in third space theory (Bhabha, 1994), which acknowledged that the staff's and the youth's language and academic development were socially constructed by using an activity theory lens. I took a thematic approach to data analysis (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). During data collection, I created and organized monthly categories onto the computer and placed monthly artifacts into an accordion folder. Then, I continued to return to the data until I felt that I had come to know the information well. At times, I went back to my original field notes (e.g. audio interviews, jottings, and sketches) to engage deeply with the data. Once I was familiarized with the data, I revisited my

research questions to create the next steps for data collection and to ensure that the correct perspectives were being captured.

My goal during data analysis was to reduce the data into themes or meaningful quotes through a process of coding and condensing codes into categories, and finally representing parts of the data in tables or figures (Merriam, 1998). I analyzed the data ethnographically, utilizing Stake's (2010) concept of patches. By constantly reviewing and searching for patterns across all data sets, and then finding patterns across those data sets, patterns and themes began to emerge. I used a recursive process (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984) to move in and out of the data for domain analysis – cultural domains are a category of cultural meaning that includes other smaller categories. Data analysis occurred in four phases: organizing, synthesizing, categorizing the data, and developing themes.

Step One: Organizing the Data

Huberman and Miles (1983) outline a detailed procedure for gathering and analyzing data to aid in simultaneous analysis procedures that includes memoing, dictating field notes, interim site summaries, and coding as a portion of the process. For this study, these four

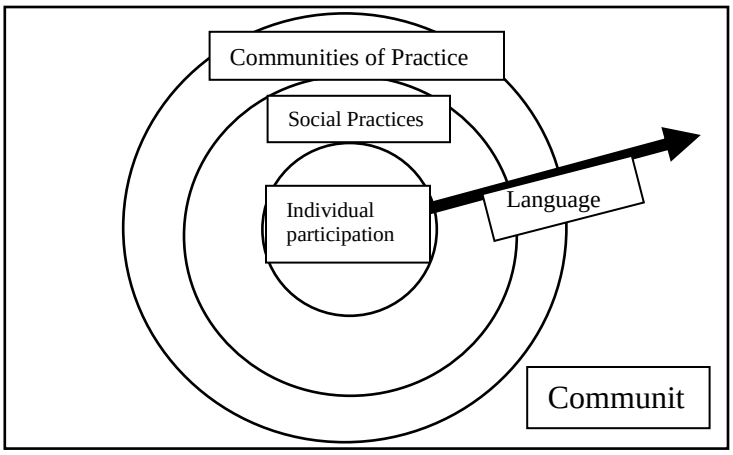


Figure 3.5. Adopted thinking map from observation notes. Adapted from Micklan (2013).

procedures were utilized because they closely connected to my visions of simultaneous data collection and reflection.

Qualitative case study research generates huge amounts of data, so it was important to maintain the data in an organized way. More importantly, preliminary data analysis must be conducted immediately post-collection or simultaneously. Data was continuously interpreted as part of reflective practice (Stake, 1994). In this first phase of analysis, I combed through each set of data to identify language patterns and the literary practices within instruction. To envision how language and literacy practices spanned across all areas, I kept the following graphic (*Figure3.*4) in mind. These key points pertaining to practices of the individual, social groups, and communities led me through the piles of data I had accumulated to determine the tiered literacy practices within the Center. Reflecting on my observations, interviews, and collected artifacts enables me to contemplate and make sense of them to modify my approaches and questions as I proceed throughout the study. For example, *Table 3.5* provides some of my reasonings for changing the language within my research questions or for reformatting a new question based upon the data at the site.

Table 3.5

Realizing my initial research questions didn't match with what I was noticing at the Center.

Previous research questions	Reasons for changing
-How do staff approach grammar in their work and an understanding, from their perspective, of the factors for verbally greeting youth and discipline?	Observations didn't reveal persistent greeting activities within groups.
-What cultural knowledge is developed through staff interactions with children?	Cultural knowledge was a major consideration for two staff whom I followed closely.
-To what extent do administrators believe that their use or non-use of national and local policies are an advantage or disadvantage to culture and learning development?	Administrators were less likely to speak with me about policy decisions.

Step Two: Coding, Categorizing and Synthesizing Data

Yin (2003) described four tenets of high-quality case study analysis. The analysis must: (1) attend to all the evidence, (2) address all major rival interpretations, (3) address the most significant aspect of the case study, and (4) utilize the researcher's prior expert knowledge (p. 137). To establish a coding system, the interviews were first read, and were then coded independently from the observations.

Following the first reading of the interviews, I compared the coding against the codes developed from observations. This practice was adopted from Creswell (2009), who stated that coding is the process of chunking the data before making final interpretations. I chunked the codes across both sets of data to compare my points of agreement and disagreement. After finding those points, I paired the points against my field notes to understand whether the participants descriptions of the Center compared to the activities I observed.

Lastly, Kohlbacher (2006) described the use of content analysis in case study research as a systematic, theory-guided approach to text analysis that utilizes a category system. The use of qualitative content analysis' rules for development of codes should increase the probability that the analysis was reproducible to a certain extent. This study applied content analysis to the archival newspaper data gathered from 2010 to 2017. Each article that mentioned the Center was coded. Descriptive words and phrases were categorized to help better understand how the Center was positioned within local contexts.

Step Three: Mergers of codes and alignment

Research question alignment to the categories, during the observation period, caused some changes to the research questions. The scope of the questions remained the same; however, some of the vocabulary changed based upon a clearer understanding of what the data were saying to me during the observation period. Table 3.5 highlights my analysis from codes to themes and illustrates how the data was used in the development of the themes. First, I identified overlaps by highlighting the terms in the transcripts from the interviews and commonalities within my field notes. As I began to discover mergers in the data, I also began asking questions about my field notes, interviews, and more. These questions were:

- What ideologies about the Center informed staff and youth about how they 'should' act?
    - How they should use language and literacy knowledge
- What learning emerged from third space after school programming?
- What conditions or elements create or support third space in after school programs?

Combing through the transcripts and field notes, I used these questions to consider the later themes of learning and understanding. In addition, as I went deeper into my analysis, I began to edit and interpret the transcripts. I decided to edit the talk to more closely align with written rather than spoken texts. The reasons for this were twofold: (a) I wanted the transcripts to flow and (b) I wanted to capture the language focusing on the content. Thus, I chose to edit the speech and use punctuation and capitalization traditionally found in written text for the purpose listed above.

In captured conversation, there is a lack of neat pauses or clear turn taking between ideas. All of the transcripts were first translated directly (as true to the original as possible). The editing

that took place added turn-taking after complete thoughts. Occasionally, I omitted extraneous information such as (a) talk not related to the topic or (b) repetitions in a single person's turn. Table 3.6 shows an example of the omissions replaced with ellipses and how the original transcript looked prior to those omissions.

Table 3.6

Analysis process from codes and categories to themes. Data sources used are in the last column.

Small Categories and Codes	**Large Categories**	**Themes**	**Data Sources**
Financial struggles	Authentically Black Community	Changes in social referents (ideologies about the organization)	Field Notes Artifacts Newspaper Sources
Community Collaborations The Center is for Black youth only			
Routines			
Program Implementation Quarterly changes reporting	Language style shifts	Identity within integrated spaces and institutionalized practices	Field Notes Artifacts Staff Interviews Youth Interviews
Literacy spaces Homework room			
Training	Tensions and Aversions		
Rules and Mores			
Punishments and Consequences			
Interactions Youth to youth Youth to staff Staff to staff	Youth and Staff Relationships (Interactions lead to practices)	Discourses around culture, community and institutionalized practices	Staff Interviews Youth Interviews Field Notes Artifacts Transcripts
Tensions			
Environments Changes to layout Large and small spatial differences	Learning in Context		
Posted communication Posters flyers			
Popular Culture Music Shoes	Popular Culture and mergers		

Table 3.7

Example of transcript editing.

Original Transcript omissions	Edited transcript
D: So, what does staff have to know in order to do a good job working with kids in grades 3-6? J: They have to be patient. They have to be flexible. As far as flexible, they have to adapt. … cause one could have an off day or the group as a whole could have an off day. Being able to not take it personally and being able to come back the next day with a clean slate. Being able to work in those situations where it may not go right but you can still recover from that and create something positive out of the situation. Patience is a big…patience, patience, patience. And it's hard to do it cause like I said they do have that attitude and that sass … and it's hard to hold yourself in and hold your tongue and not want to lash out at them. And be like you know what. So, patience and a lot of the other stuff will come. The technical stuff and the program planning will come. If you are able to just adapt and be flexible and be patient you can go. The other stuff will eventually come if you're open to it.	D: What does staff have to know in order to do a good job working with kids in grades 3-6? J: They have to be patient. They have to be flexible. They have to adapt. Because one youth could have an off day or the group as a whole could have an off day. Being able to not take it personally, come back the next day with a clean slate, and work through those situations where it may not go right. But you can still recover from that and create something positive out of the situation. Patience is big…patience, patience, patience. It's hard to do, because like I said youth do have that attitude and that sass, and it's hard to hold yourself in and hold your tongue and not want to lash out at them and be like you know what. So, patience and a lot of the other stuff will come. The technical stuff and the program planning will come. If you are able to just adapt and be flexible and be patient you can go. The other stuff will eventually come if you're open to it.

Step Four: Themes

In this final step of data analysis, I organized the merger of interviews with staff, observational notes, and historical documents concerning the Center, and sought themes across these data types. Through these analytic stages, in addition to the discourse analysis of the transcripts, I found that learning in after school programs should be defined much differently than traditional expectations for the classroom. I drew on the study by Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, Alvarez, and Chiu (1999) that analyzed the sophistication of an after school club by

exploring participant's uses of languages, registers, and genres. Hybrid literacy practices, like mixed discourses or mixed genres of writing, and academic discourse were the foci of the study. In a like manner, as my study took shape, I was drawn to mixed academic discourses and genres of language practices that shaped different interactions.

The tables created during my analysis (Table 3.5 and 3.6) allowed me the visualize multiple dimensions of contrast between the categories and helped the themes emerge to the top. Three broad themes became apparent from the analysis of data: (a) Changes in social referents (ideologies about the organization), (b) Identity within integrated spaces and institutionalized practices, and (c) Discourses around culture, community, and institutionalized practices. As described by Gee (2012), Hull and Schultz (2002), and Gutiérrez (2002), studies of literacy practices in non-formal environments also serve as the context for examinations of culture and activity. Hence the themes that emerged from my analysis of the data were in accordance with past third space literacy studies.

Summary

This chapter provided an examination of what was needed to understand certain language and literacy phenomena within an after school program. I began with an understanding of ethnographic and case study research, which progressed into particular methods applied within those approaches. Then, I highlighted the participants for the study and provided some demographic information about the participants. After establishing my approach, I detailed the ways I analyzed multiple forms of data during data collection. Through the analysis three broad themes addressing the research questions developed and led to the next three chapters in this study.

Chapter 4

Third Space Borders and Collaborations

"Meaning making occurs through practice within a community comprised of individuals who share a common purpose" (Wenger, 1998).

The first research question about the relationship between the institution and staff practices within the third space after school program is explained within this chapter. This chapter is focused on collaborations because it was through local collaborative efforts that I was introduced to the Center and where I noticed how the institution and staff practices took shape. My observations of practices within the collaborative activities helped shape this chapter.

In May of 2016 I was hired as a literacy coordinator to work at a Center to assist youth who were struggling in reading. The Center and I had a shared purpose, improving youth academic literacy after school. Students were referred to the program by their parents and/or staff who observed students struggling with their homework. When youth would enter the learning center, on the second floor of the building, they came in quietly. Every once in a while, someone might come in smiling in search of their tutor. For the most part, they disliked being pulled from the after school programming that took place on the first floor and would need some coaxing to make it to the top of the stairs. At the Center, this tutoring program was a key element in their initiative to help youth's academic achievement. It allowed for the Center to partner with a local university's college of education, and it brought in additional funding from local donors and grant programs. Third space collaborative partnerships were part of the tutoring program, mentorships, outside agencies, and funding. Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, Alvarez, and Chiu (1999) argue that in order for collaboration to serve as a resource for learning it must be a central

part of the activity system. At the Center, most of the activities were predicated on the establishment of strong partnerships within the community and amongst its staff.

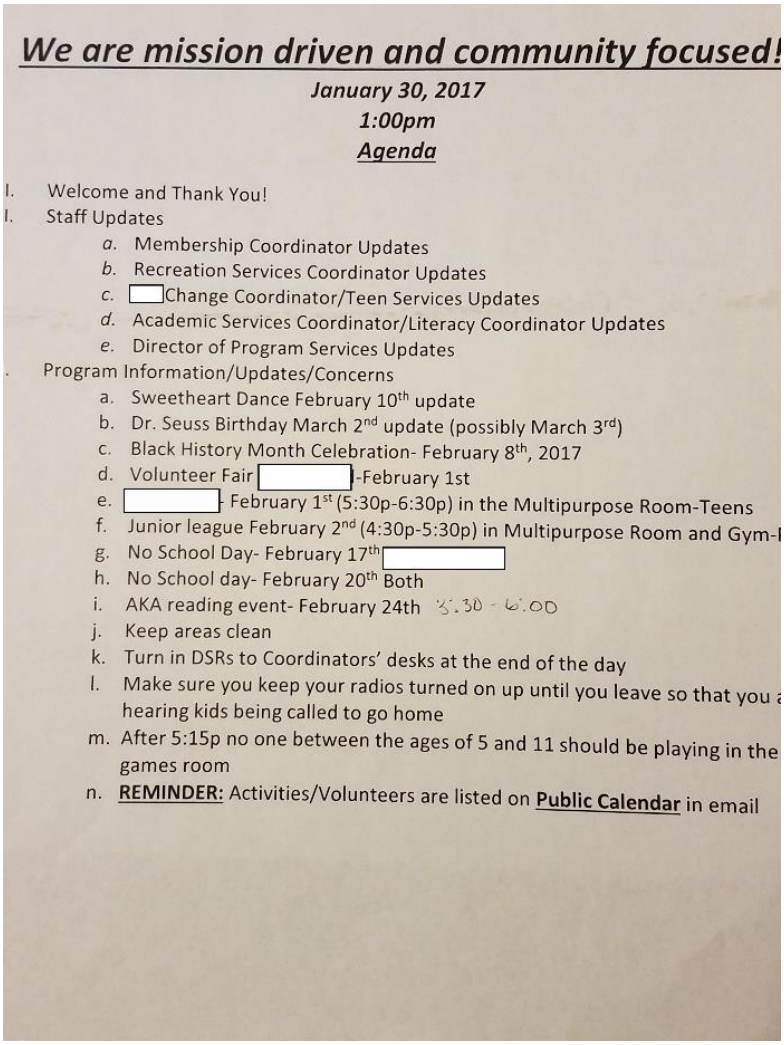
Similar to Waterhouse, McLaughlin, McLellan, and Morgan (2009), I moved to unpack the politics of after school program-agency partnerships (e.g. university and funding organizations) and the nature of understanding different cultures and crossing borders. This chapter is organized into two parts. The first part highlights the Center's collaboration with the local university. The second part describes local agencies collaborating with the Center and fundraisers in an attempt to build collaborations with the Center.

The University and the Center

Because approximately 80 percent of Curb Center's population came from low socioeconomic backgrounds, Curb Center was recognized as a premier site for college students in need of volunteer work and diverse learning experiences. Curb Center hosted interns from the School of Social Work and the College of Education, as well as Sociology courses for more than five years. Professors also worked with the youth and staff at the Center to test new curricula being developed at the university (Gazette, November 7, 2010). In January 2017, a new group of interns from the college of social work came to the Center. About eighteen seniors came to get oriented on the history of the Center and learn about their roles at this institution. Borders were being crossed in different spaces and in a variety of ways with the interns' presence.

Special Events: When staff or interns brought their knowledge and funds (Moll, Amanti, Neff, and González, 1992) to the forefront of planning efforts at the Center, the benefits of collaboration for the purpose of learning was witnessed. In January, Thomas and I discussed the Lunar New Year program that had taken place at the Center the previous week. The staff and

interns across all of the age groups participated in learning more about Chinese culture through a collaborative effort between the university's cultural center and the Center.



We are mission driven and community focused!

January 30, 2017

1:00pm

Agenda

I. Welcome and Thank You!
I. Staff Updates
   a. Membership Coordinator Updates
   b. Recreation Services Coordinator Updates
   c. [redacted]Change Coordinator/Teen Services Updates
   d. Academic Services Coordinator/Literacy Coordinator Updates
   e. Director of Program Services Updates
. Program Information/Updates/Concerns
   a. Sweetheart Dance February 10th update
   b. Dr. Seuss Birthday March 2nd update (possibly March 3rd)
   c. Black History Month Celebration- February 8th, 2017
   d. Volunteer Fair [redacted]-February 1st
   e. [redacted]- February 1st (5:30p-6:30p) in the Multipurpose Room-Teens
   f. Junior league February 2nd (4:30p-5:30p) in Multipurpose Room and Gym-
   g. No School Day- February 17th [redacted]
   h. No School day- February 20th Both
   i. AKA reading event- February 24th 5:30 - 6:00
   j. Keep areas clean
   k. Turn in DSRs to Coordinators' desks at the end of the day
   l. Make sure you keep your radios turned on up until you leave so that you
      hearing kids being called to go home
   m. After 5:15p no one between the ages of 5 and 11 should be playing in the
      games room
   n. **REMINDER:** Activities/Volunteers are listed on **Public Calendar** in email

*Figure 4.1.*A sample agenda for the Center. (Fieldnotes, January 30, 2017)

Thomas, the Program Director, led trainings and oversaw programming, interns, and volunteers. Staff meetings were held daily inside the games room (ref. *Figure 3.2*). *Figure 4.1* shows the agenda that Thomas brought to the meeting for all staff and interns. Agendas were distributed daily to all staff and interns. The flyer had a focal quote at the top with an outline of items to be discussed in an outline format. "We are mission driven and community focused" was at the forefront of what the Center was trying to accomplish. On this single document, there were

five collaborative events listed under program information. The evidence of the Center's efforts to make meaningful impacts within the community through collaborative programming was reflected in *Figure 4.*1. Within this one after school program, there were enough events and programs taking place to extend an entire page. The Center was not isolated from the immediate community, as was described through newspaper accounts. The Center was a prominent fixture for the youth and families that were served, and collaborations helped extend their reach.

Thomas began the meeting, like always, by asking the group how they felt that day and asked each person to rank their day on a numerical scale (1 to 5 with 5 being excellent). We proceeded through the agenda and began giving thanks to people sitting in the meeting. Thomas took time out to thank me for presenting the Center with the information for the Chinese New Year celebration and helping to coordinate efforts that took place the day of the event. Youth participated in a week's worth of activities exploring Chinese astrology and traditional New Year's activities. Julia had contacted the university's cultural center and requested to learn more information about their school-based program. The cultural center quickly offered supplies and presented the Center with books and other games for youth to keep. The highlight of the program was the parade. The cultural center loaned the Center some traditional masks (*Figure 4.2*) and a dragon to act out a Chinese Lunar New Year parade. The program was an imagining of a cultural space that gave voice to minority youth and acknowledged the hybridity of cultures mixing in defiance of ethnocentric traditions keeping university resources and community organizations separate.

Figure 4.2. Youth were celebrating Lunar New Year. (Fieldnotes, January 27, 2017)

The Center continued its efforts to build bridges between university groups and colleges. In mid-February the Center hosted its 2nd annual Sweetheart Dance. In my fieldnotes I wrote,

> "The evening is a blur as I moved across multiple spaces in a short amount of time. No groups followed their regular routine which presented a large amount of confusion on the part of the kids. Relief came when the volunteers from the local university, interns, and parents arrived to assist with set up and supervision" (Fieldnotes, February 10, 2017).

Thomas contacted the community collaborations center at the university to request volunteers for the event. He also petitioned the Center's interns to stay for the event so they could learn more about connecting with communities. Volunteers from the university's fraternities and sororities came to assist with the event, as well as some community volunteers. Thomas considered the product of collaborations as a successful event and pairing of communities. He also pushed for additional support and activity from the staff and interns who were from various community backgrounds. In this occurrence, I observed cultural borders and transformative practices at the dance. Entering the gym, where the dance floor was in full swing, I noticed a group of volunteers from the university clustered together in a group. Seven female college students, of varying ages, were there to complete required volunteer hours for their sorority. While I observed them in the gym with the youth, they appeared disconnected from the events taking place around them. They

still existed within their own community, separate from the Center. Minutes passed with no changes to their behaviors. Youth ran around the gym dancing to music being played by Thomas.

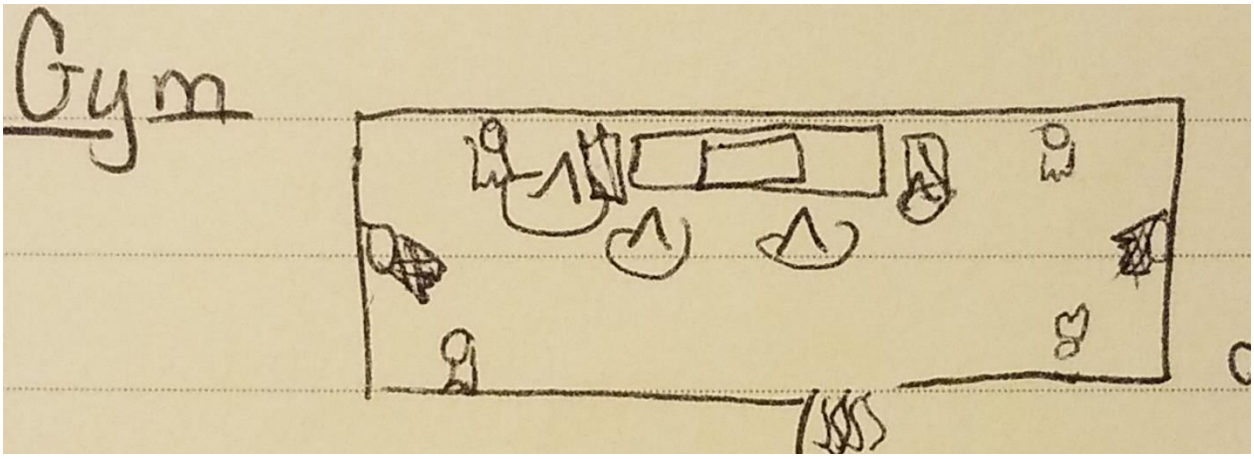


Figure 4.3. Sketch of the gym during the Valentine's Day event. Thomas set up his DJ station and placed orange cones around the music stand. (Fieldnotes, February 10, 2017)

Amidst all of the screams, laughter, dancing, and singing, the continued to stand clustered together. I eventually walked over, greeted them, and asked if they were 'okay'. Each of the girls smiled and nodded. I wondered why the volunteers were less likely to interact with the youth and parents who were in the gym. I also wondered if Thomas had oriented the volunteers on how to engage with the youth, which was a common practice during volunteer orientations. Eventually a popular song came on and I saw borders come down. The volunteers shifted from a group of females hypothetically removed from the Center's culture into a permeable group of volunteers willing to embrace the community's culture. Through music, the volunteers began blending into the larger group of youth and parents doing a line dance in the gym. Youth began 'showing off' their dance moves in an effort to impress the volunteers who danced and watched joyfully at their moves.

In this example, the divisions between the neighboring university and the Center's community was clearly seen. Cultural hybridity was represented through the borderline conditions that existed in the gym between volunteers and youth. As both cultures moved from a state of conflict into a convergence, a third space emerged. The volunteers began appreciating their role at the Center and opened their borders to explore what the youth (Center's community) could offer.

Figure 4.4. Partnership between local university and the Center to provide one-on-one tutoring for youth who are two or more reading levels behind their grade level.

Learning Center: The tutoring program and homework help were the most prominent collaborations observed at the Center. Both programs were housed in the learning center, ironically named, because it resembled a school library with its shelves of books, computers, and tables. It was a place where youth came to receive help with homework, get tutored, or have access to computers. It was also the place where Emma, who only worked in the learning center,

could enact her expertise of reading, learning, and assessment separate from the Center's curricular requirements. However, the general consensus amongst youth about the learning center was negative. Youth consistently came into conflict with Emma during homework time based on the environment created through Emma's organization of the Learning Center. Youth were encouraged to read books at their reported reading levels and were discouraged from reading books which peaked their interest at higher or lower levels. Youth were not permitted to use their cell phones. Youth could only use the computers for class assignments, and they were discouraged from getting on academic gaming sites (e.g. ABCYA). Emma's language also indexed her position as a literacy specialist and expert from within the community. She referenced her push for the Center to use the STAR reading assessment and how the results of the assessment found that most of the youth were 2 or more grade levels behind in reading.

My early observations and experiences with the tutoring program in the learning center prompted the following entry:

> "I keep thinking about a quote on knowledge in terms of language. Academic language is confined to certain persons and divorced from practical concerns. In this case academic language and practices are confined to a 500 sq. foot room on the second floor, and knowledge lies within an older white woman. Up to this point she's been the expert on all things academic and literacy focused. Boundaries exist in this space. Boundaries [borders] are here which I didn't notice before" (Fieldnotes, January 6, 2017).

In fact, youth retreated back to their academic identities where there was less talk in the room, limited technology use, and a shift of power to a central adult in the room. This environment was in strong opposition to the other environments established at the Center and was likened to a borderline condition (Bhabha, 1994) at the Center. There was a strong sense of alienation as

youth came into the Learning Center. The environment, programs, and staff all mimicked a school like setting with requirements that did not match with youth experiences in other rooms within the Center. Despite the ways borders and power shifts limited many learning opportunities with Emma in the Learning Center, on the other hand, university students had autonomy with their pedagogical approaches to working with youth.

Volunteers working with the tutor program came to the Center as part of an agreement with the College of Education at the neighboring university. The university students came to the Center as part of their course to gain cultural perspectives and cultural competencies. The volunteers were freshmen and sophomores who had little to no training on literacy instruction through the university, but they did come with the expectation of making a connection with a youth participant. *Figure 4.4* suggests how environments and experiences at the Center transformed in preparation for the academic tutoring. Based on my experiences working with the tutoring program, the program implied a coming together of vastly different kinds of knowledge between the university students and Center youth. A major strength of the partner tutors efforts was the creation of a setting where linguistic repertoires were strengthened, forming an in-between representing a third space. There was more than just language sharing that took place: cultural mergers occur through shared academic and community experiences. One freshman female student suggested that the experience taught her more than she expected:

> "I knew that I was going to work with some children to help them read better, but I didn't know that I would learn things about reading that would help me with my Ed [education] degree. Like that is a huge benefit other people aren't getting. And we are getting more from the Center than others are getting…. We get to work and play with the kids. Like

the games and different activities that allow us to know more about the kids and the people who live here."

The volunteers statements revealed how partnerships impacted youth and the university students. First, both volunteers and youth were able to explore cultural tensions and develop bridges through their interactions. Scenes, like the one in *Figure 4.4* occurred each time the volunteer-student partnerships took place. Second, the volunteers and youth working together in the Learning Center established a dynamic of transformation within the space. The control and dominance previously described and observed by youth within the Learning Center was transformed as power and agency was given back to youth during the tutoring activities. The overall definition of collaboration between volunteers and youth involved shared reading, shared playing, and shared creation of integrated language practices. Before the lessons took place, each pair spent time talking and discussing what was occurring in their lives during their time apart. Third space helped challenge the norms of dominance that existed in the Learning Center and helped to enact patterns of discourse between youth and adults (volunteers).

Wang (2004) discussed the idea of third space as a journey towards finding an identity. In the excerpt above, the volunteer describes a student identity where she was seeking to learn skills applicable to her future learning at the university. Her perspective reflected an egocentric point of view without understanding the purpose of her course or the mission of the Center. By the end of her reflection, she discussed what she was learning and experiencing with youth at the Center. Third space, for this volunteer, was flexible (Waterhouse, McLaughlin, McLellan, and Morgan, 2009) and multi-layered. She moved beyond noticing and merging cultural difference. She learned aspects of cultural awareness for the community that illustrated transformative possibilities within collaborations.

Funding and the Center: Local Agency Partnerships

While the university and Center collaborations provided a clear example of third space activities, most collaborations were initiated due to financial needs. Bevan (2007) used a third space perspective to examine the hybridization of institutional collaborations within the context of financial stress. The Center's desire to be an autonomous institution, as it had not required as many financial collaborations in the past. In 2008, a lack of local funding almost caused the Center to close its doors (Gazette, January 14, 2010). While some state and national grants were awarded to the Center, the bulk of funding came from local grants and fundraisers specific to the organization. The results of those efforts went toward organizational restructuring, which, in turn, caused a major change in the funding. For example, "Stovall said state budget cuts reduced Teen REACH funding to $62,000 in 2010-11. For 2011-12, he said that funding could be between zero to $32,000, depending on how the new state budget develops" (Gazette, July 6, 2011). The extreme cuts to the state's budget resulted in "the Center relying on money from individual donations such as the United Way and the Mental Health Board" (Gazette, July 6, 2011).

In speaking with staff about the types of local funding that influenced programming and staff practices, Thomas provided some insight into the types of collaborations in which the Center engaged.

> … when you are **competing for those grants,** especially those choice schools, you're competing for those dollars. If you haven't been established long enough to show that evidence that this is working, usually those smaller non-profit organizations get kicked out the way. They lose funding.

> …We are not one to compete, but **we want to cooperate**. When you have different grants and different funding sources that run throughout the entire county it's hard to gain those sources and continue with those when someone is competing with you. (Thomas, interview, January 13, 2017)

In this excerpt, Thomas talked about the organization entering grant competitions from a cooperative standpoint versus a competitive one. There were key benefits to the Center partnering with organizations in order to have a better chance at receiving funds. For example, funding was taken away from another organization in January 2017, which allowed those funds to be redistributed to another after school organization. The Curb Community Center was selected to receive the funds and expand its after school program to a school-based site. As part of the school-based fund, the Center had to initiate required tutoring for all participants in the program. Teachers were hired to meet with the youth at the school site twice a week. Whereas youth and families had a choice at the main site, that power was removed at the school site. These academic requirements created a space of contradiction within the after school program. Within this collaboration the borders between the school and after school program were represented through contradictory experiences (Licona, 2005) and realities of the after school program being situated within the school. The power relationships were very observable in that the Center had to alter its cultural norms in order to operate within this context. Whereas the Center's main site was able to assume norms and practices further removed from academic practices, the acceptance of the grant funds altered that dynamic for the school based site.

Even though the Center was able to capitalize on an opportunity for expansion, national reports highlighted efforts by the national government to remove funding from after school programs. This news started a wave of panic throughout the country which was also felt in Twin

City. “Will you all be here next year?” became a common question heard at the school based site. In the Fall of 2016, local and national news reported on the possibility of large budget cuts to after school funding (21st Century Grants). Parents, who could not afford after school care prior to our arrival, now feared that they would need to make new arrangements for the upcoming year. For example, I was able to build some close relationships with parents at Site 2 because of my position as the site supervisor. One parent, whom I will call Regina, would come sit and talk with me as she waited for her child to get ready. I recall the following interaction with Regina

> …Regina came up to the sign out table and I called on the walkie talkie for her daughter to come up for dismissal. Regina sat on the stairs next to the desk and we chatted about the day. She asked how much I was paying attention to the current affairs with the Trump administration. I was focusing on being positive and limiting my frustrations. We briefly discussed the proposed elimination and/or severe reduction in the Federal monies allocated for after school programming. She talked about the Center coming to the school and how affordable it was for her [she was a single mom and I assumed that cost of childcare was a major concern]. She asked if the Center would have funding to be placed at the school next year. I told her honestly that I wasn’t sure because our presence was a mid-year opportunity that wasn’t planned. She asked if it was related to funding. I responded that everything in child care was related to funding. [laughing]
>
> (Site 2: April 14th Observation Notes)

While the conversation ended on a light note with us laughing about funding, the topic was a serious concern for her as a single parent. Regina’s previous after school program cost her over $100 a month for care. However, the Center offered her child care for $25. That $25 fee covered

the remainder of the school year (3 months) and offered her a great amount of savings. Additionally, it provided her with preferential access to summer camps and additional programming at the main site. This observation points to another consequence of systemic policies that have complicated access to resources within cities. This was an unexpected federal factor to consider during the study, and the implications of the policy changes affected not only the parents but had the potential to affect staff based upon funding for positions during the next school year (2017-2018).

The Center had already made changes to its programming and norms with the opening of the school site. If additional funds were removed from the program, what other funding sources would they need to go after? Contradictions, oppositions, and tensions could be expected if the Center needed to partner with another agency for funding. I began speaking with staff about established funds that they were receiving from agencies. Their descriptions highlighted a series of practices that had already changed the nature of the positions they were hired to do.

New Staff Practices. Gutiérrez (2007) describes third space as the construct mediating between the official and sanctioned spaces of activity (such as the scripts within institutions) and the unofficial counterscripts that an organization can enact within these official spaces. During the study, the budget cuts were still in place at the state level, and the Center had established partnerships with the Mental Health Board in Twin City. Allison, who coordinated teen events and case management, was a recent graduate with a master's degree in Social Work. The city and the Center collaborated through professional development activities where staff learn from organizations about mental health, adverse childhood experiences (ACEs), and early tenets of case management. Because of Allison's social work background, she led many efforts to educate staff on aspects of case management which became a requirement for teen staff. In addition to

those responsibilities, Allison was also responsible for completing grant reports associate with the each grant.

For example, Allison recalled the following, “It’s hard to keep up with the different grants and knowing enough about the kids to see if they have additional ACEs or not. Then I have to go to all the schools and track their attendance…Schools don’t remember to send us the attendance, so I have to call or go up there each time” (Fieldnotes, February 17, 2017). Allison also described struggles around training staff to gather accurate information from the age group on a weekly basis in addition to planning programs and collecting attendance records for participation. About the time required to fulfill these obligations, she said, “It’s too much. It’s too much for one person” (Fieldnotes, February 17, 2017). Tension and frustration with the organization’s granting agencies (collaborative partner) became apparent when speaking to Allison. Staff practices were required to change to meet additional grant requirements. The Mental Health Board requires a certain amount of data on the population served by the Center, and they required a certain type of youth with ACEs. Allison described the new data requirements as unreasonable job and program requirements. Staff were not adept to case management and reporting on youth ACEs.

Collaborations, at a macro-political level, provided the Center with financial stability. However, as explained at the school based site, the Center had to take-on new roles and identities with the community they served. The Mental Health Board required data on African American youth living within Twin City in order to provide funds to the Center. The staff at the Center, from a micro-political level, had become weary of the strains placed on their positions. Their identity as a staff member changed because they were obligated to shift their interactions with

youth, provide weekly reports for multiple youth, and ascribe labels on youth who were unaware of the stipulations for their being at the Center.

Fundraisers. During the study, I witnessed the Center's attempts to create new avenues for funding outside of local and national grants. Fundraising has always been a premier way of getting money for non-profit organization. Based on my previous after school experiences, fundraisers help staff with supplies for their programs and the organizations supply needs. The history of the Center echoed the persistent need for fundraising. For example,

> "Boston [CEO of the Center] says one of his major goals to make the club financially sustainable is to increase and establish consistent individual annual giving. The club has about 500 active individual donors now, he says, and it's critical to increase that to 1,500 or more" (Gazette, 2012).

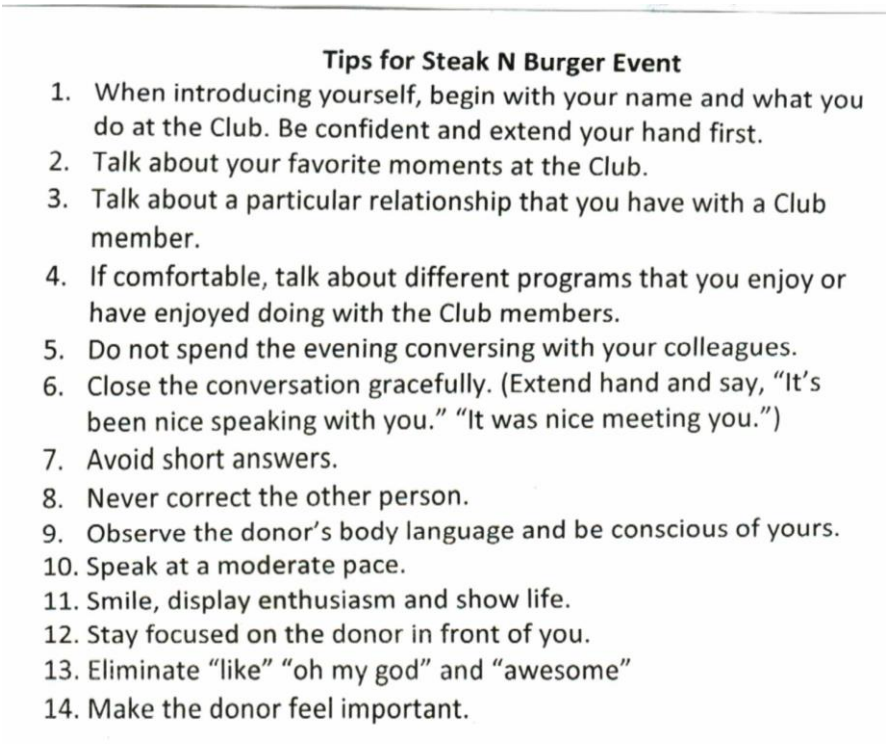
The excerpt above highlights how the CEO of the Center hoped to regain financial stability within the community after funding cuts at the state level. Not only were the finances an internal matter, but he now sought to extend partnerships within the local community. In April 2017, an example of one of the longstanding collaborative efforts took place. An annual plated fundraiser that brought together local businesses, staff, and 'select' youth from the Center was held at a local hotel. This activity helped with the identity formation for the Curb Community Center. Gutiérrez (2007) describes official and unofficial scripts that mediate between spaces.

Figure 4.5 shows the registration flyer distributed within the community and online. The flyer lists general information about attending the event, but the picture provides a strong statement about the types of youth who attend the Center.

Figure 4.5. Registration flyer for the annual fundraiser with youth and the keynote speaker. Depicted in the photo are 19 youth. Of the 19, 3 are female. Of the 16 boys, only one is White and the rest are African American. This text shows how the institutional literacies and their practices incorporate aspects of society that seek to provide spaces for young African American boys (primarily) after school. Halpern (2002), as discussed in *Chapter 2*, also found that focusing on African American males provided additional funding opportunities. In addition to *Figure 4.*5, the Center administrators were also responsible for introducing the staff to potential donors. *Figure 4.6* were the rules distributed to staff and intern prior to the Steak and Burger fundraiser. As I read and reflected on the list of fourteen standards for language practices and expectations I became upset at the inherent hierarchical constructs developed during the staff meeting. The staff meeting was not focused on the Center's programming and was a clearly a model of the Center being the provider of knowledge for inexperienced workers. Frenkel (2008) defined this

interaction as mimicry. Frenkel stated that mimicry represented knowledge from the first world as the only knowledge worth transferring. In a like manner, the Center's knowledge of interacting with the potential donors was the only knowledge worth transferring.

Additionally, the practices outlined in the document were aimed at changing the staff's conduct and reconstituting identity. By changing how staff represent themselves to potential



Tips for Steak N Burger Event

1. When introducing yourself, begin with your name and what you do at the Club. Be confident and extend your hand first.
2. Talk about your favorite moments at the Club.
3. Talk about a particular relationship that you have with a Club member.
4. If comfortable, talk about different programs that you enjoy or have enjoyed doing with the Club members.
5. Do not spend the evening conversing with your colleagues.
6. Close the conversation gracefully. (Extend hand and say, "It's been nice speaking with you." "It was nice meeting you.")
7. Avoid short answers.
8. Never correct the other person.
9. Observe the donor's body language and be conscious of yours.
10. Speak at a moderate pace.
11. Smile, display enthusiasm and show life.
12. Stay focused on the donor in front of you.
13. Eliminate "like" "oh my god" and "awesome"
14. Make the donor feel important.

Figure 4.6. Staff roles and expectations for interacting with potential donors at the Steak and Burger event.

donors, the Center presented a false representation (Frenkel, 2008) of their culture in an effort to secure funding. Not only was the Center enacting dominance over staff identities, the document also highlighted the privileging of donors over staff. It seemed that, rather than the Center's identity providing a strong representation of culture and institutional success, the significance of aligning with donors gets its meaning through efforts made within third space. However, Whitchurch (2008) described ways organizations promote 'appropriate' language that resonated

across borders. The Center created a new standard for language use which encouraged staff to move toward, within, and across community border between donors and the Center.

Summary

Similar to Moje et al. (2004), the collaborations between the university and the Center; and granting agencies and the Center have promoted and enhanced the learning that took place. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of the benefits of the collaborations between agencies, and the boundaries within third space activities.

Early in my data collection, I drew from conversations with staff and youth and found more borders in place at the Learning Center from their perspectives. Over time I realized that other lenses could be used to understand how the collaborations also benefited the Center and its youth. Growth in reading levels was obtained, more teens were drawn to the Center through effective programming, interns and volunteer requests increased, and positive depictions of the Center's efforts began to take shape. However, borders persisted between the institution and the staff. The collaborations and growth experienced seemed to move past those interactions leaving many staff wondering why they continued to work there.

Chapter 5

"We are not a school":

Individual and institutional identity and practices within third spaces

> *Cultural practices are ever responsive to the everchanging environment. Patterns and variations. Practices are understood in terms of the activities that constitute them and in relation to the institutional contexts they constitute (*Gutiérrez, *2002, p. 314).*

Gutiérrez's (2002) quote confirmed how institutional practices shaped staff and youth identities in terms of their language practices and cultural patterns. Differences in institutional locations was strongly considered given the multiple variations in where after school programs were located. The purpose of this chapter was to present the ways staff and youth's language and literacy practices index identities and shape language practices at the Center. Within the vignettes, I uncovered examples of individual positioning and negotiations in third space; ideologies about youth popular culture within programming decisions; and ideologies about youth academic performance blending into third space.

Staff, Youth, Identity, and Practices

Hull and Schultz (2002) described a further tension that after school programs must continually address is the extent to which they become school-like organizations…" (p. 48). As illustrated within *Chapter 4,* staff were responding to old and new demands within their positions which included a standardized curriculum. To begin, using daily check-ins and continuous staff training, administrators voiced a want to separate the Center's practices from becoming another form of school. The most compelling evidence was the following excerpt:

> "We are not a school. Even though we have programs, they aren't like the ones in schools. We want our youth to realize that we aren't a school. We are here to help shape

> and develop them into successful young men and women" (Fieldnotes, January 18, 2017).

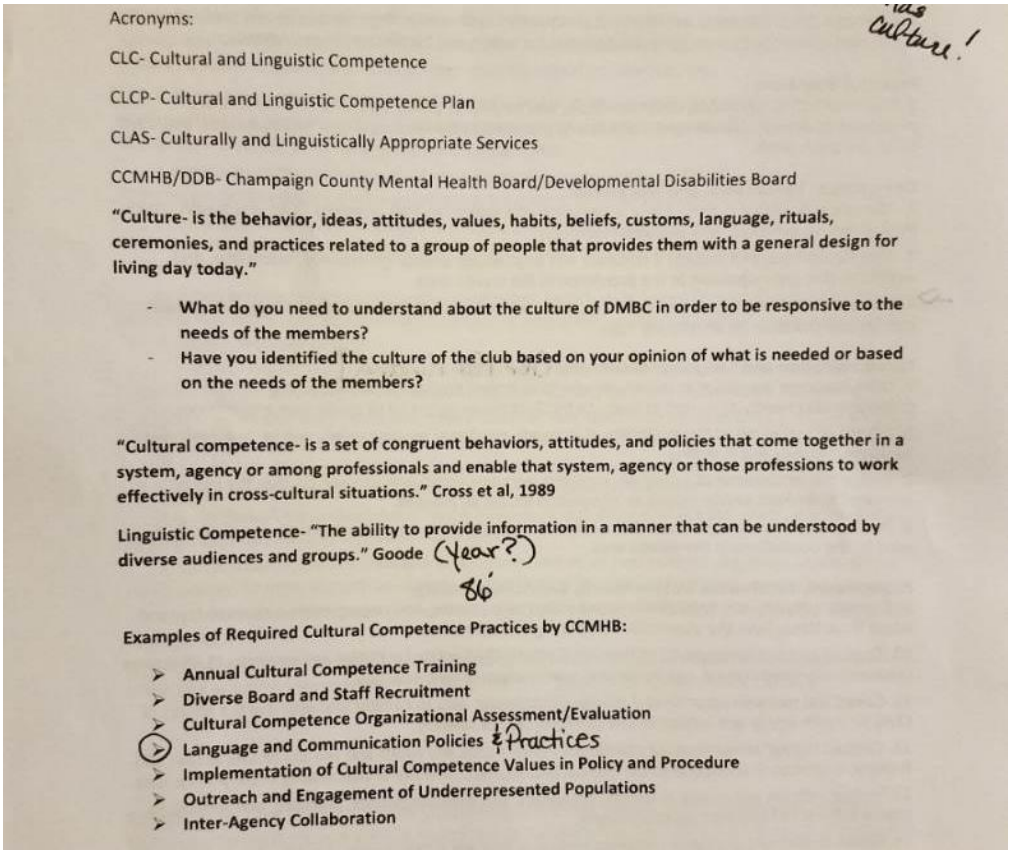
The chief operating officer's (COO)statements to staff addressed a pressing problem in after school programming and potential consequences of adapting a school identity as an institution. The same concern was part of Hull and Schultz (2002) critique of the ways after school programs had shifted the ways they taught/programmed for youth after school. As I move through the following examples, I kept the goal that the COO as a reminder of the goals for the Center's practices. I was hopeful that the actions of the Center would reflect an identity of freedom and choice I recalled from my own experiences growing up in after school programs.

Training and Development. It was important to realize the ways the Center established norms with its staff through training and development. Thomas was in charge of the daily trainings that took place, and he participated in the new hire training. During his interview he cited a major take-away from the continued trainings and team building activities he orchestrated:

> [I want staff] … "to have a sense of acceptance. That everybody is getting their needs fulfilled. My goal is to make sure everybody has a sense of freedom, creativity, expression, and ownership at the Center" (Field notes, February 17, 2017).

At the same time, Destiny, the membership coordinator for the Center, discussed trainings that took place and how it could benefit the Center and the staff. Destiny used terms such as 'accommodate', 'community', 'handle', and 'communicate' to describe elements of staff training but also recognized a disconnect between staff and the community. She did not recall undergoing official training that involved cultural competencies.

During my observations at the Center, training for new employees focused on the curriculum and the employee handbook. Secondly, behavior standards for youth and staff were constantly reviewed and adjusted based on organizational needs. For example, providing staff with new ways of communicating persistent behavioral outbursts during programs. Destiny believed that if staff were provided with a core set of strategies for working with youth and told the history of the community, it would result in a competent staff person who was equipped with needed accommodations for youth and ways to better 'handle' youth behaviors.



Acronyms:

CLC- Cultural and Linguistic Competence

CLCP- Cultural and Linguistic Competence Plan

CLAS- Culturally and Linguistically Appropriate Services

CCMHB/DDB- Champaign County Mental Health Board/Developmental Disabilities Board

"Culture- is the behavior, ideas, attitudes, values, habits, beliefs, customs, language, rituals, ceremonies, and practices related to a group of people that provides them with a general design for living day today."

- **What do you need to understand about the culture of DMBC in order to be responsive to the needs of the members?**
- **Have you identified the culture of the club based on your opinion of what is needed or based on the needs of the members?**

"Cultural competence- is a set of congruent behaviors, attitudes, and policies that come together in a system, agency or among professionals and enable that system, agency or those professions to work effectively in cross-cultural situations." Cross et al, 1989

Linguistic Competence- "The ability to provide information in a manner that can be understood by diverse audiences and groups." Goode (Year? '86)

Examples of Required Cultural Competence Practices by CCMHB:

- **Annual Cultural Competence Training**
- **Diverse Board and Staff Recruitment**
- **Cultural Competence Organizational Assessment/Evaluation**
- **Language and Communication Policies** & Practices
- **Implementation of Cultural Competence Values in Policy and Procedure**
- **Outreach and Engagement of Underrepresented Populations**
- **Inter-Agency Collaboration**

Figure 5.1. Cultural competencies handout for staff

Shortly after my interview with Destiny, there was a series of training sessions for all staff that occurred during the month of January 2017. One of the sessions was dedicated to building cultural competencies within the organization (*Figure 5.1*). The trainer focused on

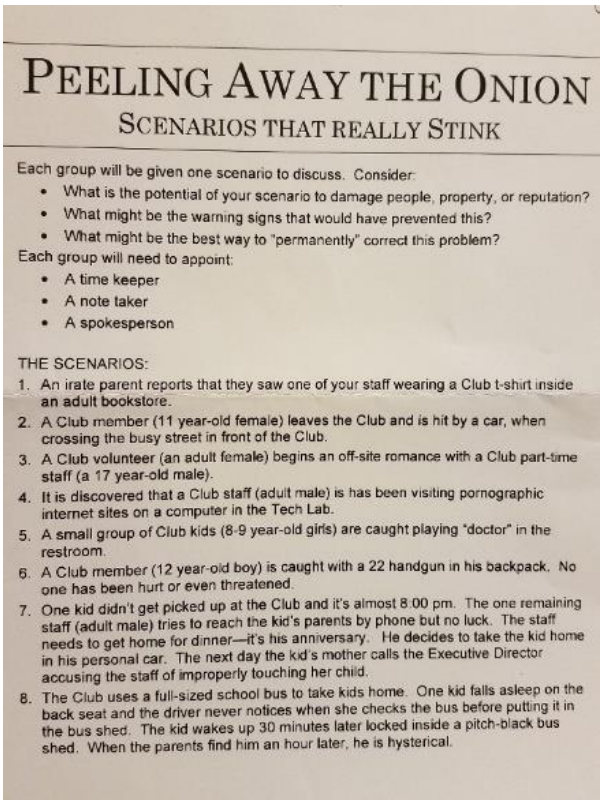
introducing staff to the demographic information related to the community and trends in the twin cities. Additionally, she discussed common language used when discussing cultural competencies within organizations. While informative, the training involved lecture without much discussion, it was the last session, and the trainer left early. The content of the training was important and up to that time, it was a point often overlooked within new hire training at the Center. These points were significant because staff were developing their conceptions of their professional identities as competent employees and group leaders. An example of why this was important became evident when interviewing Felix. Felix was hired to work with youth in sports and recreation. When interviewed about getting trained for the job and learning about the community, he responded by saying the following

> "I just basically adjusted to how they interact and communicate with [between] themselves. It took 2 weeks. Like 2 or 3 weeks [to learn]. It was difficult because it is a different environment from what I usually… (tapered off). The language that they use is different. They just…they just speak differently." (Interview, January 13, 2017)

According to Bhabha (1991), third space is a site of translation and negotiation, and in this case, Felix was exploring translations of language practices and culture that were taking place. In his case, he was the only Mexican-American worker at a predominantly African American after school program. He had recently moved to the Twin cities. His description of the youth's language indexes Felix's ideologies concerning African American speech and contexts within this community. As the interview with Felix continued, he described how staff needed to "listen to the youth and take time to understand where they are coming from. That doesn't happen often, and they have good ideas" (Interview, January 13, 2017). He had determined that the linguistic and cultural views of the youth's language were worthwhile, and that more attention needed to

be given to the youth so that staff could learn from the youth's experiences. Felix described a merger focused on translation from a linguistic and cultural approach.

Similarly, following Mertz (2000), I focus on the shifts in language use and staff's orientation toward different forms of authority within the Center and Site 2 during training activities. During a different training, a document was distributed with the title "Peeling away the onion: Scenarios that really stink" (*Figure 5.2*). Staff, who were normally called 'youth professionals', were placed into small groups to discuss scenarios that were common in the field of child care. Staff collaborated together to determine the best ways to prevent the scenarios and



PEELING AWAY THE ONION

SCENARIOS THAT REALLY STINK

Each group will be given one scenario to discuss. Consider:

- What is the potential of your scenario to damage people, property, or reputation?
- What might be the warning signs that would have prevented this?
- What might be the best way to "permanently" correct this problem?

Each group will need to appoint:

- A time keeper
- A note taker
- A spokesperson

THE SCENARIOS:

1. An irate parent reports that they saw one of your staff wearing a Club t-shirt inside an adult bookstore.
2. A Club member (11 year-old female) leaves the Club and is hit by a car, when crossing the busy street in front of the Club.
3. A Club volunteer (an adult female) begins an off-site romance with a Club part-time staff (a 17 year-old male).
4. It is discovered that a Club staff (adult male) is has been visiting pornographic internet sites on a computer in the Tech Lab.
5. A small group of Club kids (8-9 year-old girls) are caught playing "doctor" in the restroom.
6. A Club member (12 year-old boy) is caught with a 22 handgun in his backpack. No one has been hurt or even threatened.
7. One kid didn't get picked up at the Club and it's almost 8:00 pm. The one remaining staff (adult male) tries to reach the kid's parents by phone but no luck. The staff needs to get home for dinner—it's his anniversary. He decides to take the kid home in his personal car. The next day the kid's mother calls the Executive Director accusing the staff of improperly touching her child.
8. The Club uses a full-sized school bus to take kids home. One kid falls asleep on the back seat and the driver never notices when she checks the bus before putting it in the bus shed. The kid wakes up 30 minutes later locked inside a pitch-black bus shed. When the parents find him an hour later, he is hysterical.

Figure 5.2. Staff training on customer service, standards of practice, and behavior.

the impacts of the scenarios on people, property, or the Center's reputation. A total of 8 scenarios were listed in the document. To start the training, the COO asked me to respond to scenario number 8. I discussed the implications of leaving a child on the bus/van, and how following

proper protocol when picking up children and dropping them off is essential. The staff took up the procedure and continued to go around the room, responding to the different scenarios. The staff took up the procedure and were more so dependent on leadership feedback based on their responses. There were many official opportunities for the staff to learn from the leadership team. In particular, one staff member began inquiring about the scenarios and how they were developed: "Where did these scenarios come from?" The COO was intent on being transparent and explained to the staff that these were examples from Centers in the area. Literary behaviors were modeled and described in many ways, providing access for staff so they would know how to understand the importance of what they were learning.

According to Phompun, Thongthew, and Zeichner (2013), staff normally imitate ideas and styles from the leadership team. This form of negotiating their individual and work identities could bring forth a creative output. Wednesdays were designated for continued staff training and program updates from the leadership team and executive staff. One theme that was introduced to the staff by the Program Director was creating the "Optimal Center Experience". This carried through many of the trainings throughout the month of January and February 2017. According to documents provided, the number one item was the establishment of caring relationships. Second was setting and communicating high expectations for students. For example, I spoke with Bailey about her move to becoming a staff member and how her transition was beginning to take shape with the older elementary students. I specifically asked her about differences she noticed between students' perceived behavior at school and what she experienced at the Center. "I feel like it's kind of different because they are more open with me to talk about issues that they're having. They can't really do that with their teacher. When they're with their teacher it's strictly academic. Moving from one topic to the next. Here when they first get here I like talk to them

and stuff like that. Stuff that they really don't get asked until they come here. Like how was your day? What happened at school? Cause some kids don't even get that at home. So, it's always good to ask those types of questions." This excerpt highlights Bailey's acceptance of the institution's ascribed identity, 'we are not a school', and her understanding of how the differences manifest throughout her interactions with youth. Being a former educator and after school staff worker, I was astonished by the ideologies she had about schools (elementary and middle schools) and the experiences youth had during the day. Hence, I wanted to compare her understanding with another staff member who was closer in age to the youth at the time.

Staff, identity, and practices.

Third space theory allows for an opportunity for all entities to learn from one another. Therefore, learning and new knowledge can happen within this third space exclusively. When looking for markers of ascribed or avowed identity development involving staff within the Center, the most obvious markers were the language and terminology inserted from official spaces (training and staff meetings). For example, all staff, including myself, shifted from calling participants at the Center 'children' and began using the term 'youth'. While seemingly small, this language shift demonstrates language competencies (Hymes, 2001) concerning social contexts within the Center, ideologies surrounding the term child/children, and proscribing to an identity of a competent staff member. Staff also received explicit and implicit instruction about language used within the after school program concerning youth, curriculums, and data collection. From these official spaces, staff were able to enact these practices within their groups and merge their previous experiences with the learning they had received at the Center.

Institutional identity. Some staff transferred from other locations to work within the Twin Cities after school program. Thomas describes bringing knowledge about the Center in

Wisconsin and its population of youth to the Twin City and the Curb Center. Thomas was the program director, at the time of the study, and he was in charge of a large portion of ongoing training as well as building a staff culture. Every day at 1pm he had a one-hour meeting with the staff to discuss the schedule. Later in the afternoon he walked the Center, where he interacted with many of the youth and spoke with parents picking up their children. The youth often cheered when he entered the room, and he engaged with them playfully. Due to the close relationship Thomas had with many of the youth, I wanted to know how he identified with the institution's goals for youth.

> "I'm originally from Detroit, MI. Born and raised with two parents until about 9. My father became incarcerated and then I lived with my single mother until I was 14. At 14 I moved to Milwaukee to be a part of my cousin's household, which is on my dad's side of the family. The Center was very passionate in my life, and currently I continue to devote my time, my energy, and my work to the movement."

Thomas' interpretation of the Center in reference to his own experiences indexes his history as connecting with low-income, African American communities. His response is suggestive of a close sense of self and boundary crossing within youth interactions at the Center. His connection to the program led him to seek employment through the organization, and he continued to move up with the organization upon leaving the Twin City in March of 2017.

The staff not only heard about the Center experience, but also made sense of what they were learning from their time with youth at the Center. In this way, staff drew upon their lived experiences with youth at the Center and beyond the Center to develop their own understandings of what learning and culture should look like after school. For example, Bailey had previously

worked in an after school program that was situated at a school. Now she was employed with the Center, which had a much different environment.

> "I feel like it's [after school program] kind of different because youth are more open with me to talk about issues that they're having. They can't really do that with their teacher. When they're with their teacher it's strictly academic." [Bailey interview]

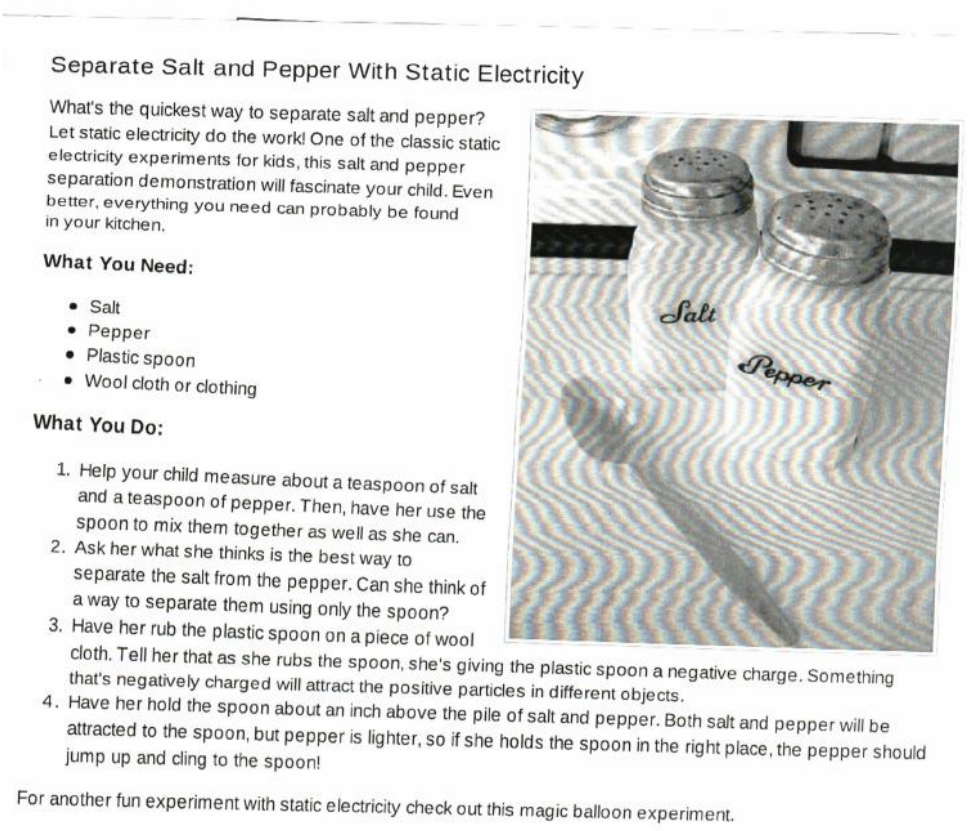
Moje et al. (2004) described how third space demands an investigation of binaries between academic and everyday literacies or knowledge. Bailey described literacy practices from her past experiences working within a school as compared to her current experiences within an after school program. For Bailey, there was no sense of overlap in her observation of practices and representations of relationships between youth and staff.

Programming. An important element I observed on a daily basis was the execution of the after school curriculums in the official spaces. The next few examples show how leadership influenced programming in third spaces and how staff took on the terms and ideas for the curriculum.

There were different categories of programs that took place at the Center. These included named activities, and the staff were also given opportunities to create learning experiences based on youth culture. During a staff meeting midway through the study, the COO addressed the staff in the following excerpt:

> "80% of our programs are HYLA. We must have the smartest kids in the state. We don't do any other curriculum, but we have high yield learning activities all the time. We have to complete the curriculums attached to our grants or we lose them" (Field notes April 12, 2017).

He based the official content of programmatic criticism on the information collected from staff 'lessons' on a weekly basis. While staff were encouraged to develop activities for youth based upon their interests, the staff were also responsible for enacting specified curriculums during certain times of the year.



Separate Salt and Pepper With Static Electricity

What's the quickest way to separate salt and pepper? Let static electricity do the work! One of the classic static electricity experiments for kids, this salt and pepper separation demonstration will fascinate your child. Even better, everything you need can probably be found in your kitchen.

What You Need:

- Salt
- Pepper
- Plastic spoon
- Wool cloth or clothing

What You Do:

1. Help your child measure about a teaspoon of salt and a teaspoon of pepper. Then, have her use the spoon to mix them together as well as she can.
2. Ask her what she thinks is the best way to separate the salt from the pepper. Can she think of a way to separate them using only the spoon?
3. Have her rub the plastic spoon on a piece of wool cloth. Tell her that as she rubs the spoon, she's giving the plastic spoon a negative charge. Something that's negatively charged will attract the positive particles in different objects.
4. Have her hold the spoon about an inch above the pile of salt and pepper. Both salt and pepper will be attracted to the spoon, but pepper is lighter, so if she holds the spoon in the right place, the pepper should jump up and cling to the spoon!

For another fun experiment with static electricity check out this magic balloon experiment.

Figure 5.3. Taylor's sample science HYLA used with elementary groups.

Throughout my observations, I observed a varying degree of HYLA that were developed and implemented at the Center and Site 2. *Figure 5.3* represents Taylor's lesson she found to complete with her group. Taylor showed that she cared about fun activities as well as educational growth in her youth. This idea that the staff completed HYLA that were not of strong academic and engaging quality, as I understood it from observing the staff meeting, generally applied to the two female staff (Bailey and Taylor) who worked with the younger youth (i.e. not the teens). Here I suggest that the act of hybridity is a means of identity creation, and is powerful enough to

reshape how staff instruct youth and their environments. The staff inhabit a space where they are the experts (or shared experts) within their youth age groups, but not yet fully respected youth professionals within the Center. This is important when considering how the staff positioned against leadership and institutional expectations (internal or external). Covarr (2015) argues that only through acceptance of cultural hybridities and knowledges is an individual able to move to a new identity. In this example, third spaces are challenged (tensions) because there is a lack of acceptance for knowledges and cultural hybridities of the staff. While Taylor is allowed to present HYLA on a daily basis, she is later critiqued for her lessons abstractly during a staff meeting. There was no critical analysis of what she was teaching youth nor the ways in which she was engaging with the youth through her programs to enhance learning and engagement.

Conversely, I also observed multiple lessons focused on social competencies within the first hour of programming. In this particular observation, Ms. Taylor has negotiated a reward for youth in her group. If youth come in, do their homework, or play quietly for the first half of the time, she allows group time for dancing and music in the multipurpose room.

> Steven is in the back of the multipurpose room at the homework table. Only half of the lights are on in the room. I assume it's to keep the youth calm as they enter the room. Steven is standing at the table with his work laid out on the table (2 sheets of paper). The intern is sitting to his right. Steven is working on his division homework. Across the room Taylor has begun playing music for the youth.
>
> T: I will play this [song] but if I hear anyone say 'You ugly, you your daddy's son' I'm gonna turn it off.
>
> Kids and teens walk toward the TV and watch as Ms. Taylor chooses the 'correct' version of the song. Eight youth are in front of the television listening and dancing to

"JuJu on that Beat[1]". I look towards the back of the multipurpose room. I notice Steven and some other youth teaching an intern (from the neighboring university) the dance. The intern appears confused and watches Steven intently while trying to mimic his movements. After watching for one minute, Steven and the intern return to his homework.

After the song ends, Ms. Taylor congratulates the youth not saying the inappropriate part of the song. She then walks towards me and gives me a high five. She didn't expect all of the youth to listen (based upon previous attempts).

(Fieldnotes, January 23, 2017)

This excerpt highlights the hybrid cultural forms of literacy that mediated the activity within the group. Gutiérrez (2002) discusses the ways in which individuals celebrate their membership in particular groups, and we value the themes that bring meaning to our lives. For example, youth do this through the expression of alternative clothing, hairstyles, or music (Covarr, 2015), which indexes a creative disposition toward learning and interactions. In this example, Steven highlights a shared cultural experience through music and dance. The intern provides shared academic knowledge, learning, and experiences.

Distinctions between official and unofficial curriculums among different groups were also present within the Center. I observed these distinctions, and Taylor described an instance where the Center replicated the binary systems of school and community.

Taylor: They don't know how to get these kids to listen. All of my kids listen to me and they have fun when they come into the room. Do you think it's wrong for me to play the music?

[1] JuJu on that Beat: https://youtu.be/a2v_zGWawP0 / Rolex: https://youtu.be/lwk5OUII9Vc / Whip and Nae https://youtu.be/vjW8wmF5VWc

Dorian: Not necessarily, but I am unsure of what the official rules are for playing music.

Taylor: There are no rules. The same songs I was playing, Thomas played during the dance and I hear the teens playing in the teen center.

Dorian: Did you try to compromise when the music could be played with your supervisor?

Taylor: She just told me no. Like no music or nothin'.

Dorian: How were you using the music? Did they want you teaching the kids something instead?

Taylor: She talked about different activities that the kids could do like the calculator on the floor and other stuff. That is boring for those kids. They finish that in 10 minutes. Then what? They gon' run around and be loud and get in trouble.

The tension between the local practices and cultural practices and the official curriculum did not permit negotiation. Taylor's relationship between institutional curriculum and incorporations of youth culture into a blended curriculum (merger) moves beyond expectations. The institution's interpretation of her environment indexes a low institutional understanding through activity and materials. However, as many teachers have adopted, "you close the doors and do what's right for your students". In the above exchange, Taylor no longer exhibits an empowered stance toward her time with 'her' group of youth. In fact, as she began to no longer avow a youth professional identity, she also exhibited signs that the space was no longer one in which she could deconstruct binary systems in an effort to incorporate youth representations.

The idea of HYLA provides a sense of more open and relaxed environment for youth and staff to co-construct knowledge and learning. Social competency lessons and activities do not outline skill-based instructional goals like those seen in classrooms. Instead, the application of

skills learned within educational spaces is more apt to occur. Consequently, Ms. Julia comes into the multipurpose room ten minutes after the music began to speak with Ms. Taylor. As Ms. Julia leaves, Ms. Taylor turns off the TV with the music playing. The kids begin whining. The removal of music is followed by two boys beginning to wrestle in the back of the room. Some items were knocked off of tables and one of the boys was slapped on the back. While no causal relationships can be inferred from these interactions, it is worth noting that the change in the activity in relationship to language use foregrounded the fight in the back of the room.

The interaction between Julia and Taylor was analyzed in terms of removal of hybrid learning activities. Julia critiqued Taylor's actions and extended her role of supervisor by determining the allowable content during a program. Taylor, who immediately turned off the television and said nothing at the time, later voiced her disapproval of how she was reprimanded for incorporating what the youth like into the program. "They weren't being bad, and they even listened when I told them not to say that phrase. I don't play music every day but it's a good way to reward them when they good." By scrutinizing Taylor's program, a shift occurred. Taylor went from incorporating youth popular culture into learning activities, to removing the musical aspect and shutting down further efforts for a certain period. Ultimately, Taylor felt that the term 'Youth Professional' no longer applied to her because she was not trusted to make the best decisions for the youth within her group.

Staff members must balance curriculum, student situations, and varying literate abilities. Jaime was still learning and adapting to the cultural norms for the youngest group of youth at the Center. Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, Alvarez, and Chiu (1999) discussed the shared knowledge and practices that exist within third spaces and the ways staff draw upon youth's experiences to enhance learning. Similarly, Jaime was learning about the youth in order to enhance their

learning. However, her creation of third space based upon her classroom experiences was neither a merger nor translation of learning. What was observed was a shift in Jaime's identity as a teacher to an after school care professional. She was tasked with learning and embodying a different mode of learning and engagement from her norm.

Youth, identity, and practices

From a social science point of view, identities are always social (Jensen, 2011). This means that youth identities are always situated within specific social contexts and conditioned by them. In this case, the activities that guide the after school program provide social identities that youth ascribe. Third space theory recognizes the complex nature of communities of practice, where culture and identity are not static, but are a mixture of multiple layers of knowledge and knowing.

Institutional identity. One such example is how Julian and Steven come to an understanding of how they want to contextualize their time at the after school program. I begin with Julian's interview. He chose to meet in the small computer lab that had a large window facing the front of the Center.

Dorian: How do like the time you spend at the Center? Is it fun?

Julian: Nope. Only when we go to the games room or the computer lab.

Dorian: Not the homework room?

Julian: Nope.

Dorian: Why not the homework room?

Julian: Its too many people. It gets too crowded and too much sassy.

Dorian: What is sassy?

Julian: Bad manners.

Dorian: What about the volunteers and the staff who come and help in there?

Julian: Ehhh

Dorian: Ehh… sort of?

Julian: Yeah. I'll second you.

Dorian: What makes you like the other rooms so much?

Julian: You can play games on the computer lab. You can play the basketball on the gym. And you get to play basketball in the games room.

Dorian: Do you get to play with your friends in those areas?

Julian: Yes. Oh in the games room. And so we love playing foosball. I usually try my best to beat them.

Dorian: Does it work

Julian: Kind of

First, Julian presents his understanding of the different programs that take place, and its relationship to how he defines himself within these spaces. Julian acknowledges a difference in his behavior and the behaviors of other youth who go into the homework room from his group in the following excerpt: *Its too many people. It gets too crowded and too much sassy.* He identifies their behaviors as being 'sassy' and having 'bad manners'. Julian also described interactions he has during social recreation. He states that *'we love playing foosball. I usually try to beat them.'* In this example, Julian clearly values time spent with social activities with his friends. On the other hand, he distances himself from the learning center activities due to the number of people and the behaviors observed during the activities.

Another aspect worth analyzing is the meaningful boundaries established within these two examples. In the learning center, Julian has established an impermeable boundary due to

differences with the environment and the youth who occupy that area. In the case of identity formation, I considered the social relationships described during my interview with Julian and the later observations of his interactions with other youth and text (*Chapter 6*) during a time when assumptions about youth's engagement with text and other youth were constantly being assessed.

Children often interact and learn alongside adults during after school programs. Steven, at Site 1, met me in the games room to discuss his work and attendance at the tutoring program. He had received a few low grades and had not completed his homework in over two weeks. During the conversation, he pulled out his work to get some assistance, but we were quickly interrupted by his mentor.

Steven: I've been hit in the head with baseballs before.

Dorian: Bye Steven. Mr. Andy is sending you to the floor

Steven: Oh

Dorian: Oh, you didn't tell me. Do you like the new groups?

Steven: Yeah

Steven: At first, I said Ms. Dori don't go to Garden Hills. Tell Mr. Andy to go to Garden Hills.

Dorian: Perfect timing.

Andrew: Laughs and continues to tickle Steven… [removed additional dialogue]

Dorian: So, what's going on with Reading Partners? I heard you haven't been going.

Steven: Get Jack back

Dorian: What made Jack so special [his previous paired person]

Steven: [shrugs shoulders] His skate board and he would play cards with me

Dorian: Does the new person not do that with you

Steven: Nope

Dorian: Did you ask them?

Steven: Nope

Dorian: You just want Mr. Jack back

Steven: [nods]

There are many forms of literacy practices, but as discussed earlier (*Chapter 4*), only certain practices are validated in school and out of school. In the excerpt above, my role switched from researcher to literacy coordinator. I became highly concerned with Steven's academic performance and participation in the tutoring program. The excerpt is an example of boundary negotiation in which I and Steven explore multiple spaces of the interaction in relationship to our identities out of school/work. This idea was articulated through expressions of concern about his work and through descriptions of his participation in academic programs.

Steven was still enrolled in the reading program and was paired with a university student who came twice a week to tutor him in the Fall of 2016. As 2017 began, Steven had refused to attend the program because his tutor changed to a female. I probed him about his attendance and what he needed in order to return to the program. He quickly echoed what I thought would be the answer: he wanted his former tutor back. In the following excerpt, "*His skate board and he would play cards with me*", Steven describes the extra time he spent with his tutor building a relationship around the tutor's interests in skateboards and Steven's interest in card games (Go fish). Steven did not recognize the program as a learning activity based upon the excerpt. Instead, he saw the interactions with his tutor as a fun time spent playing games.

Both youth showed personal connections with the choices of programs that staff and leadership initiated during programming. Additionally, both youths' text presupposes a shared knowledge of cultural norms and practices as discussed in Moll (1998). Steven presented information on two men with whom he had strong relationships through the mentor program and the tutor program. Julian alludes to a well-known fact in the Center, that many youth avoid the learning center (room) due to behaviors from other youth in the room. He also draws on linguistic constructions in his range of words. His use of the word *sassy* in his explanation of why he did not like the learning center serves as an assessment of his quiet disposition while working in and around that space. Sociocultural perspectives on literacy learning and development link literacy and identity, with a focus on how multiple identities can lead to acceptance or rejection of certain literacy practices. From the youth described, Steven had a level of acceptance across contexts, whereas Julian did not find acceptance within academic spaces, but he did find acceptance in the social/recreational activities provided.

Programming. Although there were many limitations to the types of changes and activities that could take place at the school site, staff seemed to acclimate to the spaces provided for programming on a day-to-day basis. In the following examples, the staff took on this challenge through programming that encompassed social/emotional skills for youth to learn.

Some of the HYLAs provided by staff focused on STEM applications, which also prompted youth to learn and expand their vocabulary with an emphasis on official vocabulary. Close to the end of the year, staff elected to complete a communication activity with youth. Youth sat across from each other, each with 8 popsicle sticks, and they covered their work space with a book or other object. The staff modeled how to communicate their design so that their partner would be able to mimic the design without looking at their partner's work. *Figure 5.4*

shows two youth checking their work after finishing an explanation. Many of the youth struggled to effectively communicate with one another during the activity.

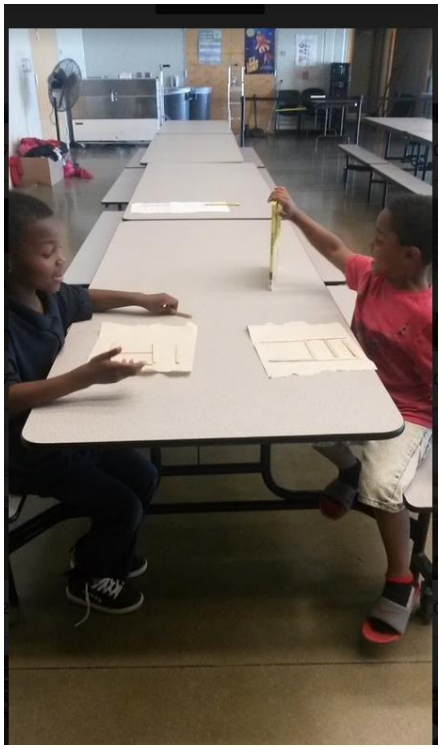


Figure 5.4. Male youth completing a communication activity. James and Eric check their designs after talking through the activity.

During the activity, one male youth was left without a partner. I sat down and invited him to complete the activity with me. In this moment, I began modeling effective communication with the youth in order for him to follow my design.

Dori: I laid my first stick horizontally in the middle of the page.

Youth: Horizontal? Is that up and down or sideways?

Dori: Sideways.

Youth: Okay. What next?

Dori: I have another stick on the left corner, diagonally pointing to the left.

I used directional information to assist youth with my design, and introduced language that was not being used in other examples in the room. Afterwards, the same youth introduced the words in his example. “I put it horizontal to the left. At the top.” Though he still used his own language and language practices in the later examples, he was not resistant to incorporating official/academic language into his examples, as well. According to Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, and Tejeda (2012), at times youth can resist the transformative language practices introduced in third spaces. However, as illustrated in this example, programs that allow incorporations of youth language practices and official language practices are sustained through effective third space learning zones.

Many of the youth at Site 2 commented on the fun they had staying at their school and getting to play during the after school program. Spatially and socially, the after school space provided a new environment in which the youth could interact. As suggested in previous examples, Site 2 offered similar programs found at the Center, but with fewer youth and a lower staff-to-youth ratio. *Figure 5.5* presents another example of programming that highlights the way youth negotiate identity and language practices within activities. Laura completed the healthy eating activity that Bret had introduced to the group. Youth thought of foods matching the various colors of the rainbow. During the activity, Laura commented that the physical education teacher at the school had also used this form to teach healthy food groups. As youth continued to work, Laura created an interesting extension of the learning. After completing her activity, she composed a poem on the back of her paper about ‘coliflour’. Not only does her writing suggest her academic strengths, it also indexes a high degree of personal identification with the activity and use of academic practices she had learned in school. Laura shared that her class was learning about poetry and they practiced in class writing poems about different objects in their homes.

Her writing about the foods was easy because “we practiced in class so I was just practicing some more”.

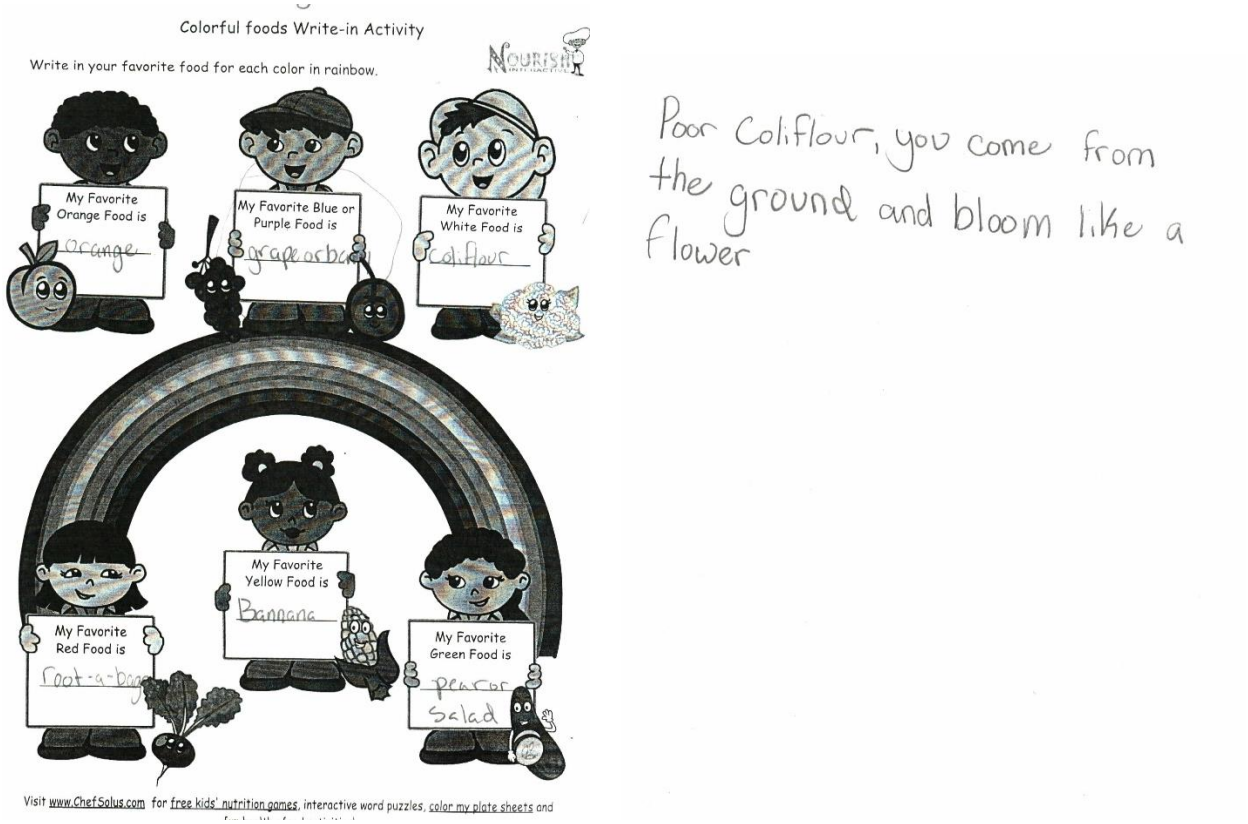


Figure 5.5: Laura’s writing sample from the healthy eating program as part of the social/recreation curriculum.

In March, girls at Site 2 had the opportunity to express “what pushed their buttons” (*Figure 5*.6) on a day-to-day basis. Language boundaries between official and unofficial, with their associated identities, were ever present at Site 2. The girls in the interaction added to my interaction with Youth K at our table.

> T: Oh my gosh yes. [begins checking boxes] This one. This one. This one.
> K: Yep. Me too. Did you check this one? [points to paper]
> T: [nods] Mmmhmmm.
> K: Ms. Dori. What if you want to put something not on the list?
> Dorian: You can add it.
> K: Where?
> Dorian: On the paper.
> [Giggles]
> K: No like where on the paper.

Dorian: Anywhere. Find an open area and add your thoughts and ideas.
K: So anywhere
T: [interrupts conversation] That's what she just said [rolls her eyes]
K: [scoots away]

The excerpt above also highlights the presence of shared space the youth felt they could have with me in their activity. While I playfully engaged in dialogue with the youth, they were less likely to find a global medium in their language practices. They kept conversations with me in an official space. Toward the end of the interaction, Youth T provided further clarification of the instructions, moving the conversation away from the official and thus indexing new identity positions through discoursal hybridity (Bhatt, 2008) within the interaction.

In *Figure 5.6*, 30 examples were provided for youth to review. The girls were allowed to add to the list as needed or simply check the applicable boxes.

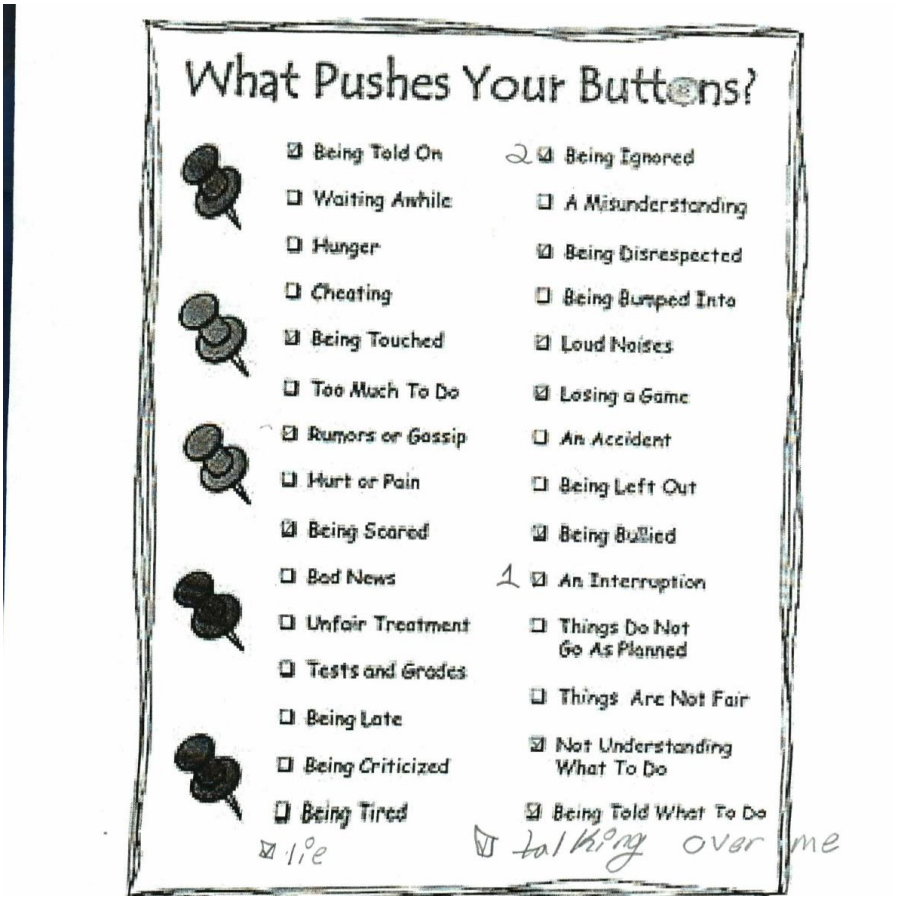


Figure 5.6. Sample youth response to the pushing buttons activity about reflecting on triggers.

While most of the girls simply placed a check mark on their papers, some added to the text. *"What are those", "Clap back", "Lies", "brothers and sisters", and "Whack AF".* While the girls would not allow a photo of their papers, they did allow me to see some of the terms they wrote down. Since this example is dealing with written forms of text, it could be argued that the messages written cannot be controlled because of the social nature of speech. Bakhtin (1981) observed that language represents the co-existence between present and past experiences; it represents heteroglossia. The addition of the phrases transformed the document into a multi-voiced occurrence within the activity. New meanings developed in the third space as youth navigated between global understandings and local practices with language. The code mixing of

formal and informal voices on the document allowed youth to reposition themselves with regard to the practices allowed at the site.

Summary

In this chapter, I presented the ways in which identity, culture, and literacy practices are embodied within third spaces. The staff and youth were not silenced at the Center. Though leadership had specific practices they wanted implemented each day with the youth, after observing and speaking with participants, I realized that the Center allowed for a lot of autonomy with programming.

Blurring of official and unofficial

Leander (2002) posits that boundaries can form within various activity systems. For example, staff have complex work practices, and they also move within and between parallel activity contexts. Based on Leander's (2002) work, the Center and Site 2 represent programs within programs or the production of interactivity systems. This analysis highlights the multiple identities and communities of practice that exist at each location, for example, when referencing the ways youth move between the learning center upstairs and downstairs programs. Youth move between academic and personal spaces enacting multiple identities and practices. This idea places emphasis on the physical spaces that the youth move between during after school programming and the environmental rules and expectations of those spaces.

According to Lefebvre (1991), the lived space was an unstable pairing of the physical and perceived space (recall *Figure 1.1*). The blurring of borders thus compares third spaces to official and unofficial spaces within activities. The differences between the sites sheds light on the complexities involved during the blurring of borders between official spaces between the Center and Site 2. The spontaneous moments when staff incorporate youth culture within the curriculum

and when youth incorporate academic language within the curriculum happen individually and at a group level. However, the youth do not view these activities (those occurring during normal programming) as learning. Instead they view it as playing. The only official space for learning, as noted by the youth at the Center, was the learning center on the second floor. At Site 2, the homework area and tutoring occurred in a separate classroom with a teacher. However, the examples in this chapter indicate that rich interactions, collaboration, and learning happen in third spaces along with negotiations of multiple identities and cultures.

This chapter examined how staff's and youth's language and literacy practices index identities and language practices within official and unofficial spaces. Official spaces described in this chapter emerged during training activities, the implementation of programs, and through disciplinary practices. Official training regimes enacted at the Center were direct and purposeful at both sites, but Site 2 provided a glimpse of blurred borders between official spaces at the school and the after school program. Further, unofficial spaces presented themselves within the programs through the participants' discourse and materials. Recognizing how materials can represent counter scripts serves to blur binary distinctions between official and unofficial spaces that are the key elements in building hybrid practices within third spaces.

An important strength of analysis within this chapter is that while the production of activities is analyzed as sets of practices, through the use of participants' discourse and other social structuring, the analysis is deepened to better understand concrete representations of third space.

Chapter 6

"Ya'll made this mess, clean it!": Style Shifting and Mergers within Third Spaces

Burnett et al. (1997) confirmed that many well-educated Black people can code switch successfully while sustaining their cultural bond across age groups, income levels, and educational backgrounds. However, Smitherman (2000) found that Black working-class and non-working-class people (families) are generally monolingual, speaking primarily Black English (African American Vernacular English). Because the population at the Center was understood to be monolingual, I referred to the style of talk as style shifting (Ervin-Tripp, 2001). Style shifting occurs when people make stylistic changes in the way they speak in order to show a specific position (identity) in society. It relates to hierarchical constructs in society. Youth and staff can and will show their academic and community learning through the use of style shifting and ability to enact hybrid cultures, while within informal (unofficial) spaces youth and staff prefer African American Vernacular English (AAVE).

Ideologies affect both the probabilities of contact and motivation to speak like another, but it is not clear whether it is beliefs and attitudes accessible to interviewers, or underlying presuppositions and prejudices that are most powerful in affecting understanding and speech (Ervin-Tripp, 2001, p. 2). In this chapter I present examples of various style shifts and their different paths towards learning. Additionally, Ervin-Tripp (2001) highlighted the ways that linguistic features are markers of membership within groups and some features require more time to learn (e.g. semantics of AAVE). Notions about what youth are learning within collaborations and hybrid practices have accompanied models of third space. I present examples

from earlier chapters as well as new excerpts from both sites to build the case for language mixing within third spaces.

In the following examples, I sought to describe an activity based analysis of style shifting between youth and staff at the Center. I argue that the use of style shifting found within third space activity represents the merger or separation of language practices.

Youth style shifting

Steven and I met through the tutoring program that took place at the Center during the Summer of 2016. He was entering the 4th grade, and his mother had many concerns about his academics. I asked him some basic questions, as I did with all youth, about his interests in reading and what he liked to do outside of school and tutoring. He presented himself as a shy individual, giving only one-word responses. However, by the end of summer we had created a bond over being at the Center and playing basketball. The transcript below details an interaction between Steven and an intern in early February 2017. Steven, always looking for a male model, reaches out to the male intern in the room to participate in a building activity. The observation and transcript below follow interactions and discussions during arrival time in the multipurpose room. The exchanges between the intern and Steven highlight important understandings of Steven's experience in developing an identity and who he chooses to include in conversation. The youth's participation in games and activities with adults, siblings, and other youth, some of which are culturally specific, helps determine their position within the discourse group. These are important in relationship to his identity and literacy development within the Center.

> Steven arrives at the Center and walks into the multipurpose room with his group. He quietly walks over to the intern witting on the floor playing with a bucket of dominoes.
>
> Intern: Do you know how to do it? [referring to building a tower with dominoes]

Steven: [shrugs his shoulders and smiles]

Intern: [shows Steven how to balance the dominoes so that others can be stacked on top]

[Steven pulls the sleeves up on his white sweater and pulls out some dominoes. He puts together a tower.]

Steven: There!

[Steven looks back at me and points to his tower. A girl, who looked much younger than Steven, scoots close. Steven begins talking with the male intern about his structure.]

Steven tries to place a domino on the intern's tower.

Intern: [holds out hand to shield his tower] No

Steven: Please?

[The intern allows Steven to place the domino on the top of the tower. Steven places the domino on the top sideways. The tower falls almost immediately creating a loud crashing sound. The little girl covers her ears. All three begin laughing.]

[The laughter dies down and Steven's younger brother comes over to the group. They divide into two separate groups. Steven and his brother and the intern and the young girl. Steven begins creating a new tower. His brother scoots closer to the tower and places another domino on top. The tower crashes.]

Steven: No! What the freak! You better go get that [domino] you bad baby.

Sam: I'm no baby. [Sam follows the domino bouncing across the floor.]

This interaction informed me about the youth's knowledge of the appropriateness of varied language forms available to indicate particular situations and roles within the activity.

In this exchange, a formal and informal style of communication were observed between Steven and the intern and then between Steven and the other youth. First an formal (official) space was

established with the intern. The intern set up specific phrasing to let Steven know this was an opportunity to learn: “do you know”. I have referred to this as modeling interactions within formal (official) activities. Steven then shifted between formal and informal styles within the game playing activity. Official space was present as he learned about the tower activity with the intern and practiced building alongside him. Steven assumed a formal, school-like identity where he looks to the adults to guide his learning. At certain points he looks to the intern for reassurance, and then he looks and interacts with me.

The activity shifts and a blended or informal style emerges as other youth come into the interaction. Steven’s speech indicated his asserted stance as an expert on how to complete the tower activity. His speech ascribed to the role of big brother. Brother speech was direct, louder, and forceful. He gave directives to those around him. Unlike the modeled talk from the intern, his direction were short with no explanation. The shift also signaled a new activity where Steven subsumed the role of leader. His activity with the intern ceased, and he continued play with the two additional youth who came into the area. While the youth’s physical separation indicated the shift, the style shifting also signaled the change.

Respect. Steven, who was accustomed to interactions with me for social or academic reasons, typically showed ‘respectful’ language and social practices while engaging with adults. Bailey echoed in her interview that **“…** you have to talk to staff with respect. They know that.” However, despite the rules for engaging while in formal spaces, there were no observations of a merger between the official and unofficial in relationship to ‘respectful’ practices. In fact, it appeared as though the youth enjoyed name calling amongst each other and with interns and staff at the Center. However, there were times that youth forgot language practices and roles within activities. An example comes from an interaction between Ms. Destiny and some elementary

aged youth who came into the Center. In the excerpt below, youth enter the Center, having just left school, and there was an apparent conversation between the youth that carried over to the after school program.

> [During arrival, I sat in the lobby to understand how youth entered the after school environment. A bus pulls up to the curb. Two youth come in the door.]
>
> Male youth**:** "Hey Ms. Destiny"
>
> [Ms. Destiny begins checking them in and says hey back to them. The two youth begin to argue shortly after the greeting. They are arguing about a conversation they had on the bus.]
>
> Ms. Destiny**:** Who said something ugly to you? [directing her question to the girl]
>
> [The girl claims the boy next to her was calling her names on the bus.]
>
> Ms. Destiny calls his name to come closer to her desk.
>
> Male youth**:** What
>
> Ms. Destiny**:** I said come here. You don' say what when called.
>
> She corrects his statement with a lowered tone and furrowed brow. She reminds him of the conversation they had with the COO yesterday about his behavior and response to adults. The boy lowers his head and begins to walk towards her desk.
>
> (Fieldnotes, March 14, 2017)

Schilling-Estes (1998) stated that speakers may proactively enact language practices to construct a particular identity for a specific purpose. In this example, Ms. Destiny shifts to an unofficial register when speaking to the youth. There were reductions of the final consonants found in the male youth's talk and in Destiny's speech. The matched reduction of final consonants in the official space signaled a merger of language practices by both. Destiny, being from the local

community often style shifted while disciplining youth. As Bailey indicated earlier, there was a focus on respectful behavior at the Center. That was observed with the 14 posted rules on the wall and the language observed by staff and youth. Despite those practices, youth would sometime bring their negative interactions from outside of the Center into activities within the Center. However, that did not alter the expectation of respectfully answering adults and adhering to directions.

Role play. While continuing to argue for third spaces in after school programs, there were times when youth created these spaces without the presence of staff. During this instance, it was expected that the use of AAVE would become more prevalent as youth style switched between official and unofficial spaces; and assumed various roles.

> [Nine children were gathered in the computer lab on the first floor of the Center. There is a mix of elementary aged youth and teens in the room. Two boys are playing a shooting game. They are sharing a chair because there aren't additional seats available. Boys talk about moving to get to their target.]
>
> Male youth 1**:** "He ran up and shot you in the face."
>
> [Both boys begin laughing about the death. Later the boys are still playing on the computer.]
>
> Male youth 1: This dumb nuts just gonna sit there and he gon' die.
>
> Male youth 2: Oh oh back up off me you ugly dude.
>
> Male youth 1: Yea you ugly dude.
>
> Male youth 1: This game says 13+. Why does it say 13+?
>
> Male youth 2: Its 13 and up.
>
> Male youth 1: I know.

Male youth 2: Gotta reload, reload. Oh he gonna kill me.

The boy pulls out his phone and records a part of the game on snapchat and talks about the other boy winning. He sends the clip to his friends on snapchat.

(Fieldnotes, March 24, 2017)

Unofficial spaces encourage increases in youth cultural exchanges and language mergers. A gamer role was prevalent within this activity. Youth 2 was the primary player in the game, and Youth 1 defaults to Youth 2 as the expert on the game. He mimics his phrasing about the game and also asks Youth 2 about some of the content. Youth 1 was trying to achieve a particular role related with identity construction. For example, when male youth 1 used the phrase *he gon' die*, indicating informal and playful discourse. This was followed by the popular cultural video game context with violent dispositions: '*back up off me you ugly dude'*. Lastly, we consider the speech act of mimicking/affirming statements: *you ugly dude.* The act of mimicking resources in language reflects how the youth borrow and make meaning within interactions and activities. Delpit's (2002) analysis of her own daughter's use of language shed light on the ways in which youth at the Center acquired language practices "from identifying with the people who speak it and from connecting the language form with all that is self-affirming and esteem-building" (p. 39). Similarly, Levy (2008) highlighted the was dramatic play online supported literacy learning and use. It also prompted researchers to understand how multiple literacies in play create new pathways. In this way, style shifting was a signal of blended language use and learning within a third space activity. Online activities, with multiple literacies, using third space theory could help identify the space in between online, home, and school cultures which create new meanings about language.

Staff style shifting

Gutiérrez, Rymes, and Larson (1995) note that in 'true dialogue' there is the potential for negotiation, joint construction of ideas, and healthy critique, as well as the possibility of blended world views. The following two transcripts and explanations provide examples of conversations and how youth and staff worked through talk to develop their own ideas about practices within the Center.

Discipline. The curriculum called for staff to introduce STEM activities that engaged students in learning about engineering concepts. Though the site was fully staffed, a supervisor from the main site assisted in instructing youth on the activities in that first month (March 2017). Youth gathered in the cafeteria (all groups), staff were scattered between the youth to assist with sketching designs, and the supervisor monitored the activities by walking back and forth between the tables. As I am seated at the edge of the table near some of the older youth, I observe the following interaction:

Bret: Did you steal that Camron?

[youth places her head down. The other youth continue to work on their sketches]

Bret: All right, I'm going to let someone else use the ruler.

Camron: But I'm not done yet.

Bret: You haven't used it since the first line.

Camron: I have to do it like you.

Bret: No you don't.

[Ruler is given to another youth. C gets upset and crumbles paper.]

(Fieldnotes, March 7, 2017)

This example of talk originated with the staff's question aimed at how the youth came into possession of a ruler. Throughout the interaction, one could understand how Camron felt when

the staff did not believe him. In this interaction, one could see how the staff member gave commands to the youth and disregarded his response indicating that he still needed the tool. When the student provided a reason for still needing the tool, it was nevertheless removed, creating a tension/conflict. For that youth, the learning stopped when the tools were removed from his learning space and he stopped learning. On Line 5, Camron was seeking joint construction of knowledge through replication with the staff member. His response to the staff's question could also be interpreted as him asking permission to model his project based upon the staff's work. This micro process (Bloome et al., 2008) highlights where Camron recognized that his actions and language were not honored during the activity, so he left the interaction by throwing away his work. Third Space theory also highlights when conflicts emerge in third spaces and detract from learning activities.

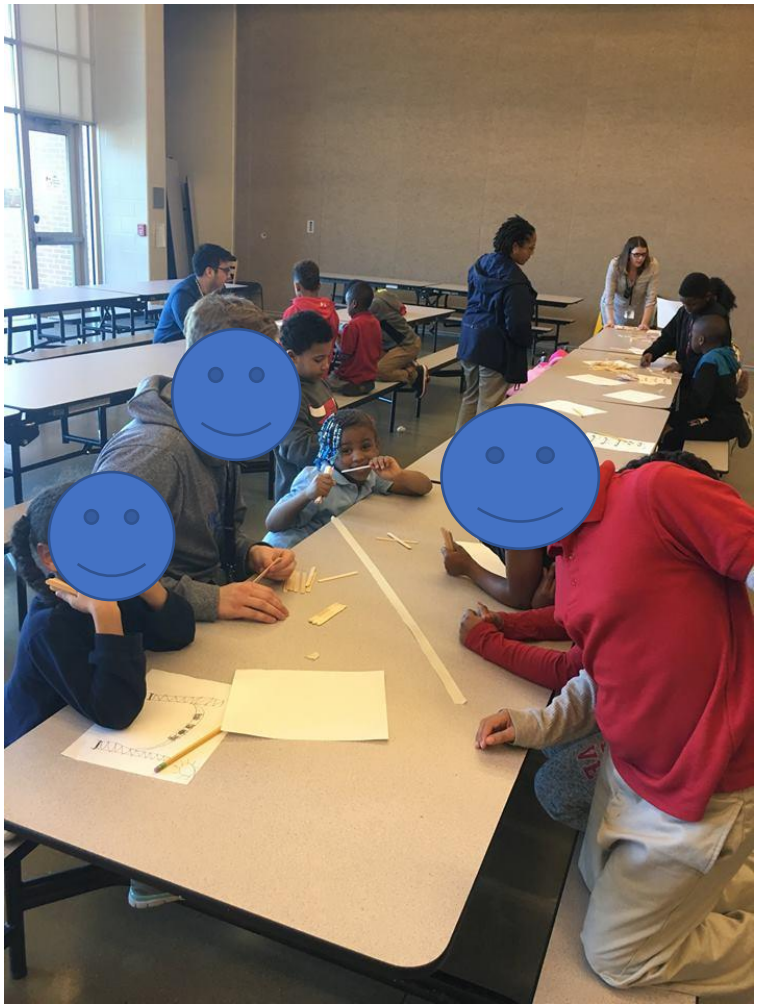


Figure 6.1. Youth and intern working on bridge building activity in small groups at Site 2. Picture obtained from the Center's website.

A macro level discourse analysis allows one to consider the social and demographic contexts of the interaction. As depicted in *Figure 6.1*, the staff was an intern serving in a staff role, Bret has no official staff training from the Center, and he is a White male born and raised within the Twin City. Camron is an African American male student at the school. His two sisters also attend the after school program at Site 2. From a macro level perspective, Camron and Bret might be viewed as playing out a grand narrative (Lyotard, 1979) of marginalization. Within this interaction, I analyzed the removal of third space discourse due to a lack of communication and understanding. Bret did not understand why the youth felt the need to mimic his work. The youth

was not yet equipped with a high level of communication strategies to explain his position. Hence the conversation ended and neither person learned from the other. In this excerpt, final analyses revealed how language mixing that was taking place in the youth's design was abandoned when he was reprimanded for keeping a tool.

After the youth left, Bret and I spoke about the learning that took place and what he could do to improve his interactions and instruction with youth. He voiced that he felt that I was 'mad at him' during the lesson. I admitted that I was not pleased with his approach to handling particular situations, but that I take it as a learning opportunity. I did not want him to feel oppressed by me as a staff person, but I also did not want him to oppress voice, expression, and replication that are part of youth learning culture.

Additionally, hybrid language practices were found within style shifts. I began to notice this midway through the study, as staff language used with students became more prominent in my observations. In fact, using a Bakhtinian (1981) perspective, the hybridity increased the possibility of dialogue with youth and other staff in the building. In the following transcript of interaction during a science and exploration lesson, I discuss how hybrid language practices mediate students' learning and behavior. The following interaction captures the conclusion of an activity. The lead staff has just returned to the room, after leaving to get some paper towels. The other two staff and a group of about 30 youth have continued clean-up efforts in her absence.

> Taylor: "Ya'll made this mess, clean it!" says a staff member as she enters the art room.
>
> [Youth are completing a water based project. There are three female staff in the room with 28 youth. No one responds to the staff's words verbally. Instead, some of the youth grab paper towels from the staff and begin cleaning up the water that has spilled on the table and the floor. Another male youth walks away from the group and begins throwing

a small rubber ball against the wall. He tries to catch the ball but fails to grab it in time. It begins rolling across the floor.]

Other youth begin to get up and clean the rest of the room. “Thank you Julian”, Ms. T says across the room. Julian continues to throw away paper towels and push in chairs around the different tables.

Taylor: “We want to go bowling today? (Posed as a question) Youth nod and say yes. “Then we need to follow very simple rules. Stay quiet, stay seated, and listen.”

[Two youth walk over to where I sat. One of the males is very upset. I ask what is wrong.]

Youth 1: He states, “Someone just threw away my stuff.”

Dorian: “What stuff?”, I asked.

Youth 1: “My boat. They just threw my boat away. I wanted to take it home.”

[I called over one of the staff members and requested that the young man be allowed to reconstruct his boat. The staff member nods, but then states she didn’t know if there was additional aluminum foil to make the boat. Tears continue to be shed as the boy realizes that he will not have a boat to take home today.]

(Fieldnotes, March 17, 2017)

Taylor’s dialogue at the beginning of the excerpt echoes sounds normally associated with informal styles of language versus the formal (institutional) language practices. Over the course of the study, I noticed that Taylor often mimicked literacy practices used by youth and had a close relationship with the youth across age levels. Her style shifting allowed her to engage in boundary crossing that extended beyond the standard staff-youth interactions. As Taylor mentioned earlier (*Chapter 5*), she learned to listen to the youth at the Center. Taylor kept

experimenting with activities and ways of interacting with youth. Her story suggests that she constructed an identity for herself that transferred to her relationships with youth across contexts and ages. Her story continued to be one of conflict (institutional) and negotiation (youth) as she prepared her instructional plans.

Mergers

What I noticed at the school site, which was vastly different from the main site, were students engagement with writing- and arts-based activities. In the following examples, youth enact various identities and mergers between school knowledge and after school expectations.

Writing. At Site 2, Ms. Liyah was in charge of planning arts-based activities twice a week for all of the youth. March 2017 was a celebration of after school programs nationwide and a celebration of the national organization. Youth created collages expressing why they liked coming to the program, and what the program meant to them.

Figure 6.2 highlights one of the posters created by the youth named Jazmine (pseudonym). Jazmine, age 7, sat at in the cafeteria shuffling though magazines and searching for pictures. It must be made clear that Site 2 opened on March 6th and the collage project took place on March 14th. Thus, due to the fluid nature of identity, the after school program's influence was not expected to penetrate the social, popular, and cultural tenets of the youth participating in the program. However, some *Figure 6.2* showed how the after school program identity and academic roles continued. The young girl spoke about completing a similar activity at school during art class and was very careful as she constructed a descriptive sentence on her page.

Figure 6.2. What I like about the Center activity from a female youth aged 7. (Site 2)

Likewise, *Figure 6.3* was a young males representation of the Center (Site 2) and what he enjoyed about the programming. He spent less time looking for visual representations of his feelings. Instead he filled his paper with words and phrases that expressed his thought. Zane (the boy) happily described his collage and why he like the Center. Afterwards, he asked if he would have to correct his writing like was required at school.

Zane shifted his style from artistic style to an academic style. While no staff person placed academic requirements on the writing, he knew his work would not be approved within academic settings. The youth continued to play and created additional collages during their time. They stopped trying to rationalize their work in terms of academic requirements for spelling and other writing conventions. Academic language was rarely used except for Zane recalling academic standards and the occasional request to help someone spell a word.

Throughout this activity, the official first space of writing conventions and dialogue occupied the conversations. Youth began acting within their second space (social), recalling memories of play and familial influences. Third space was a space of tension for youth. There

were uncertainties about which space took precedence and how they should proceed with the activity.

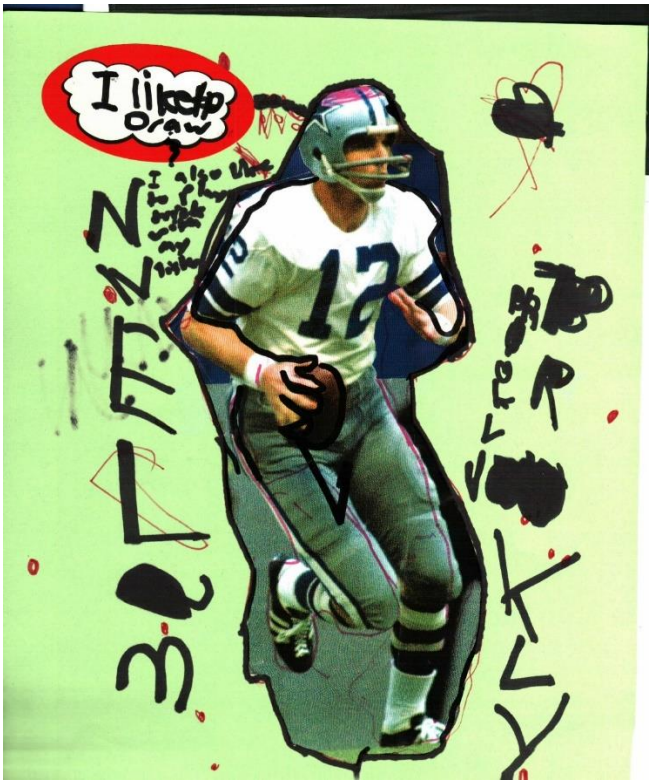


Figure 6.3. Zane's, age 9, collage about the Center.

Literature. Style shifting was observed in the ways youth talked about and utilized literature at the Center. Site 2 boasted a new group of kids with resources that were available to the youth. There were two playgrounds, an outdoor and indoor basketball court, etc. Almost all of the resources available to the school were available to the staff and youth. However, throughout my 3 months of observations, no youth asked for or utilized the small library available to them through the Center. The books (*Figure 6.*4) remained untouched. Even still, staff did not include literature within their planning, as some had done at the main site. There was less language mixing between school-like dialogue around text in this space.

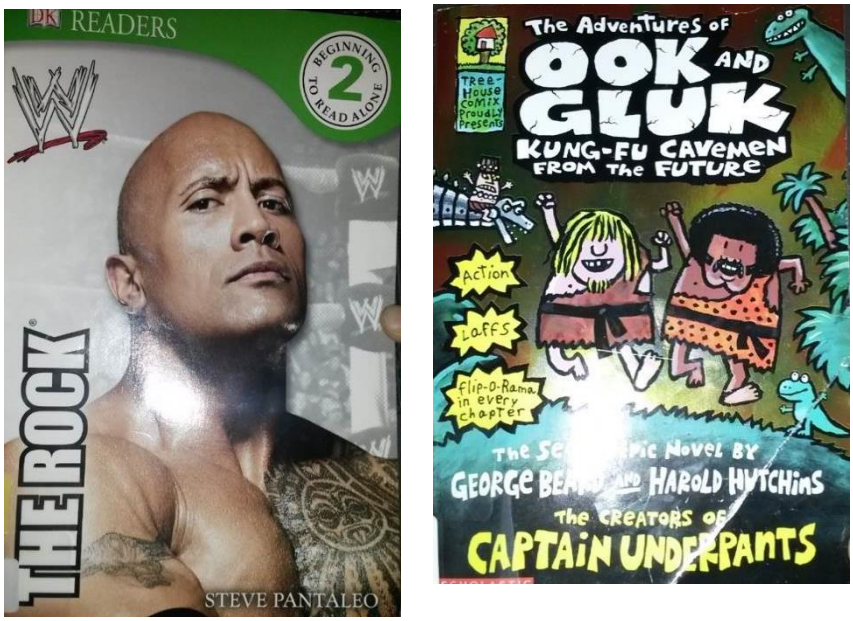
Figure 6.4. Books at Site 2 remain untouched during arrival and programming.

The books at the Center seemed to get more attention for a variety of reasons. There were books placed in each programming room (except the gym), and the Elementary Supervisor and Teen Supervisor took efforts to incorporate texts based upon the themes taking place throughout the weeks. On multiple occasions, I found Julian sitting, removed from his peers, with a book in his hand, and on other occasions I could find Steven sitting with a book, as well.

The purposes for their reading and how they described what they were reading were vastly different. Julian, who read Captain Underpants, described the book and how much he enjoyed reading other Captain Underpants books, as well. *Figure 6.5* highlights the logic of institutional/global influences and youth resistance. Julian had completed a full year in the

tutoring program and could be found reading daily at the Center. He worked with the literacy specialist upstairs, and they had developed a relationship around text and purposed for reading. Julian was comfortable within the official spaces around literacy learning at the Center and was engaged with staff and individually around text.

On the other hand, Steven read and spoke about his text with a much different purpose.



Steven's book Julian's book

Figure 6.5. Books being read by Steven and Julian at the Center.

When first approaching him as he completed looking at the book, he quickly turned away as if he had not been reading on his own accord. Recall from *Chapter 5* Steven's comments about the tutor program. In a similar fashion, Steven was resisting global and local calls for improved literacy learning. He was not engaged in the tutoring and he did not want to identify with the official practices associated with reading.

The following example occurred during homework hour. Youth were allowed to go to the Learning Center and receive assistance with their homework. Bailey describes completing a lesson in the learning center about poetry. However, in her description she notes a key moment

when some of the youth bring in cultural symbols of expression (Dyson, 1997) to express their literary selves. Bailey described an activity where youth were expressing their literate selves through a poetry activity.

> "I've noticed that a couple members we were writing rap. We were doing poetry and they ended up writing raps. And so I catch them writing every now and then writing raps in a notebook. It's something they really like. Its honestly something that could become…you know make them rich. Just knowing that I helped a kid realize that hey I can rap, you know what I'm saying. Like it kind of makes me feel good. Because he never thought about writing a rap until I made him write a poem."
>
> (Bailey's interview)

The excerpt shows how youth negotiate official and unofficial space with staff. In similar fashion, 3rd-5th grade girls had a group separate from the boys on Thursdays. In the group, the girls would explore situations important to young girls and the idea of being a strong and intelligent girl.

Summary

The use of style shifting found within third spaces represents where two identity representations merged. The academic and standard English contrasts observed across both sites conveyed a range of social contrasts occurring between activities. Youth enacted various styles of language use as they navigated 1st and 2nd spaces. Yet shifting during and between activities also offered meaning making and learning that was taking place. These phenomena allude to different aspects of identities of the youth and staff and their beliefs about language and cultural practices.

Findings included descriptions of mergers in conjunction with style shifting across activities. Of particular interest were the mergers where literary, academic, and social learning occurred. In the third space youth co-constructed knowledge and negotiated learning that extended outward from traditional boundaries of school and crossed over to personal and world issues.

Chapter 7

Discussion and Conclusion

This multi-sited ethnographic study began with the premise that an examination of the linguistic and socializing practices within after school programs (third spaces) could indicate the process about youth language and learning. A review of the literature described the presented growth of third space theory within research on after school programs. The theoretical implications informed the understanding of the hypothesized associations between the home, after school, school learning, and language practices. The theoretical framework informed me of the connections between culture, social, and language influences on language practices and learning. Contributions from Mickan (2013) stated language cuts across all, and is also shaped and re-shaped by the community.

I undertook this study with the belief that through a third space theoretical lens. This study drew on ethnographic observations of routines at the Center, different age groups, and other settings, semi-structured interviews and naturally occurring interactions; and artifacts collected. I utilized the tenets of the language socialization paradigm to examine the processes through which children learn within third spaces and transverse (Baquedano-López, 2004) diverse linguistic, social, and cultural landscapes after school. These practices are located within what I described as third space after school programs (*Chapter 3*). Using, historical data and archival data revealed a host of ideologies concerning the Center, the community, and youth served (*Chapter 4*). My second line of analysis highlighted how the language practices, ideologies, and subject positions influenced staff and youth identities within the third space after school program (*Chapter 5*). I have used a third space theory framework to analyze after school discourses. By illustrating how the activities in this study are enacted within curricular

constraints and how third space sites could represent and fester blended language practices (hybridities), build community, and move beyond mandated and prescribed curricula outcomes (*Chapter 6*).

In this concluding chapter, I relate the narrative experiences of the staff and youth presented in the previous chapters with the literature review and the theoretical frame. Based on the three research questions, I discuss three overarching conclusions from the analyses. I also present the limitations, implications, and recommendations for future research.

Question 1: What can be observed about the relationship between the institution and staff practices within third space collaborations?

Chapter 4 discussed the role of climate on collaboration and identity development within third spaces was evident through the examples of institutional collaborative efforts. The interrelationships between climate, collaboration, and identity allows for complex understanding of the practices (cultural and linguistic). The institution's identity and youth and staff practices were shaped through various collaborations within the Center. I paired information about the ways in which the local community positioned the Center and observations of language and literacy practices at the Center to determine how collaborations impacted staff and institutional culture and practices. To better understand staff and institutional views of literacy development and practices, I also analyzed national climate in relationship to the sources of funding for after school programs and discourse around after school programs over the course of the study. Two major ideas came from my analysis of information pertaining to the first research question: (1) negotiations of identity within collaborations and (2) the role of climate in understanding variations in third space activities.

Negotiations of identity and practice within collaborations. Individual learning cannot be separated from the larger learning context (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, Alvarez, Chiu, 1999). The Center's funding initiative has, essentially, merged with macro level political initiatives through various grants. These mergers have thus shaped the curricula and measures used to assess youth's academic and social development academically and socially within the after school program.

My analysis of collaborative efforts between the Center and other organizations was also framed by hybridity theory, which recognizes the complexity of examining everyday spaces and literacies within a globalized world (Soja, 1996). Being in-between several different funds of knowledge (Moll, Amanti, Neff, and González, 1992) and discourse can be productive and constraining of one's literate, social, and cultural practices – and ultimately identity development. The tutoring program provided after school participants and volunteers space and activities to share their cultural practices within the reading activities. Each tutor-student pair was allowed time within the lessons to operate in the in-between and move between academic practices and social practices. Another example came from the Chinese New Year activity which provided space for globalized literacies presented through local practices and collaborations. Youth and staff were able to expand their cultural and literary practices through engaging activities with materials that were provided through the university's cultural center.

The above mentioned examples and others from *Chapter 4* illustrate the ways collaborations added to the identity of the Center. In many ways the collaborative efforts added to the discourse around the Center having an academic focus and becoming a welcoming place for youth in need of a safe place. As stated by the CEO, the Center was breaking away from its past and forging new directions in the community. Likewise, the collaborations served as a

counterscript to the ideologies about African American youth within Twin City and the descriptions in local newspapers. Positive representations of the youth through fundraising events, collaborations with the neighboring university, and other events helped present youth in positive ways to the community.

There were also ways that the collaborations served to remove pieces of the Center's identity. Staff job practices at the Center increased, so much so that staff felt ill equipped to complete the tasks assigned to them. Collaborations could offer staff certain advantages for learning and career development as they attempt to develop a professional identity. This topic, along with programmatic discussions, were further explained and expounded upon in *Chapter 5*.

Climate's influence on collaborations and identity. I have argued that national climates are directly related to institutional and individual identity as well as the overall culture within the institution. Many studies of third space are limited to micro-political analyses of collaboration. This study offers a macro-political lens on collaboration and the hybrid practices developed through collaborative relationships. Climate shapes the 'types' of collaborations and negotiations at both the institutional and individual levels. Holland et al. (1998) attest that thinking, speaking, gesturing, cultural exchange are forms of social as well as cultural work (p. 271). Thus, the limits of third spaces are related to the ways in which language is situated or abstracted.

The application of climate within third spaces led me to analyze climates relationship to hybrid practices within collaborative relationships. The influence of climate serves as a resource for interpreting third spaces and hybrid practices, and the role of climate was a powerful influence on the portrayal of third space at the Curb Center. Within this understanding, I have outlined productions of identity and their relationship to collaboration and climate.

***Local practices*.** The context of the after school program was hypothesized to embody community practices at large. These conditions are important for considering the complexities of hybrid and complex identities. This study highlighted complexities within urban settings, shifting institutional identities, and staff and youth identities (*Chapter 5*). The hybrid language practices and cultural forms mediated the learning that took place and opportunities for identity formation and expression after school within the activities.

Additionally, a focus has been on language as a local practice. Pennycook (2010) outlines an understanding that posits that every day, routine practices of language are abnormal and that departures from a world of language use in which creative rule-breaking and repetition are the norm (p. 41). As is common with language studies, an understanding of language practice and use within activities is flexible and fluid. Identity, style shifting, and cultural representations must be considered. This and other points of interest within this area are expanded upon in upcoming sections.

Beyond the abovementioned arguments, the particular contribution of this dissertation lies in the inter-relationships between collaboration, identity, and climate. Tracing the relationships between the three components allows for a complex reading of identity and literacy development as it is positioned and re-positioned across contexts. For example, the national and local statutes (*Chapter 4*) that promoted and limited activity at the Center did not occur in isolation, but rather shaped the micro-level activities that happened on a daily basis (*Chapter 5*). Multiple mappings of third space could also call into question common understandings of first and second space in relationship to identity and literacy development. When locating aspects of space into impermeable categories, inter-relationships are not easily understood or applied.

Finally, positioning after school programs to work in African American communities requires that researchers capture the power relationships that exist within society. The continued normalization of bodies to enact prevailing relations of dominance and subordination within educational spheres further positions institutions and individuals into subservient roles or negotiated identities.

Question 2: What cultural ideologies about youth underlie program/curricular implementations by staff?

Chapter 5 discussed the role of youth culture within third spaces. Race, being a part of that dynamic, indexes programmatic decisions made by staff. The planned activities provide spaces for incorporating multiple systems (identities) through art, dance, and conversation.

For youth who came to the Center, racial identity was a part of the ideological constructs placed upon the Center. Youth did not outwardly discuss or acknowledge this truth about the Center being a 'Black' after school program, but for the adults working within the program, it was an obvious truth. Previous discussions in this dissertation highlighted the ways the Center was positioned within the community and ideologies about the youth served by the Center. However, this knowledge did not have to represent negative stereotypes. The staff at the Center took information about the youth's culture and repurposed that information into the programs they created. As seen in *Chapters 5* and portions of *Chapter 6*, staff took time to integrate youth culture into the programs in which they were participating. For the youth, engagement with programs increased when they were able to use their music culture, art culture, and linguistic cultures to express their learning.

Music Culture. Youth's music culture was characterized by a mix of song and dance. These systems existed through digital and narrative expressions within activities at the Center.

The inclusion of music that the youth requested was met with increased institutional rules about allowed content during programming. However, I posit that some staff understood how youth identities were fostered through the inclusion of music. Examples in *Chapter 5* showed the ways Taylor and Thomas placed 'popular' songs within the programs. Social practices and expectations at the Center were reinforced through Taylor's use of music within her group. Thomas was able to build youth's engagement within programs by hosting a space for youth's music to be at the forefront. At the same time, ideologies about the Center being a Black space were reinforced as adults were socialized into dance literacies. The interns from the neighboring university were encouraged to dance along with youth and staff. They inquired about dances and learned from the youth.

I argue that an ideology of rap and hip hop not belonging in learning has been a key influence in the othering of youth music within learning activities. Thus, the study adds to literacy research showing the importance of youth popular culture (Dyson, 2003; Morrell and Duncan-Andrade, 2002). Within after school programs, popular culture was commonly found within third space activities. Popular culture was a prominent factor that was present within those interactions.

Media depictions in art. Dyson and Kabuto (2016) discuss the ways in which curriculums are permeable when youth's social worlds are allowed to permeate the activities that take place. Staff as well as youth were allowed to have cultural exchanges, question, and creatively co-construct knowledge at the Center. Artwork produced by youth suggests that ideologies about African American men and women in public spheres can be representative of who youth aspire to be. *Chapter 6* highlights the ways in which youth incorporated depictions from media into their learning, and described representations of who they want to be.

The artwork created by the youth would not have been understood as an artifact from a third space activity without have dialogue captured from the event. This speaks to the difficult nature involved in capturing third spaces with multiple layers of the activity being accounted for. Language use and practices are inextricably tied to activities created within third spaces.

The Black Center. Delpit (2002) discussed the importance of interpreting differences and entering spaces with preconceived notions of aptitude when working with African American (or minoritized) youth. The literacies that people learn and use prompt certain attitudes that in turn can serve to recreate social class differences within spaces. The presence of these music and art literacies, which were often shared with staff and volunteers, did not mean that the youth were not learning anything. To the contrary, participation and integration of cultural preferences, to include the music, showed that youth were learning to promote, instruct, and read their multiple identities through the literacy practices made visible at the Center.

Youth popular culture at the Center was also a part of Black culture within the community. I found that racialized identities and practices were prominent in the third space activities at the Center. As staff utilized youth popular culture in their programming, they also created a space where youth could enact their racialized identities safely. However, one could argue that the space created was the result of the overall population and the racial identities of the staff. Having staff from similar racial and ethnic backgrounds allows youth to see people who look like them in positions of influence. Youth believed they could assume their own roles of authority, power, and agency within those spaces because of these factors.

Overall, ideologies about youth's racialized identities are ever present within every aspect of teaching and learning (Delpit, 2002; Darling-Hammond, 2000). The challenges to move beyond confronting these ideologies are exacerbated by the growing cultural disconnect between

predominantly white women in education professions and the ever-growing diverse population of students in classrooms (Duncan-Andrade, 2005). To that extent, the after school program represented a space for incorporating multiple systems into the learning practices in which youth engage at the Center. Therefore, understanding the nature of their experiences during programming and their resistance to certain programs opens possibilities for questioning the role of practices within these contexts.

Question 3: How do language use and social interactions among youth and staff index negotiations of identity within collaborations?

Language practices of youth and staff are indicative of the space they occupy, the context, and identities enacted during the activity. *Chapter 6* described style shifting as the way youth use language with staff across various types of interactions. As stated in *Chapter 6*, in third space youth co-constructed knowledge and negotiated learning that extended outward from traditional boundaries of school and crossed over to personal and world issues. Themes of Black girl empowerment and violence within games were strong examples of this form of merging.

Whitchurch (2008) discussed the ways activities in third space reflected the development of hybridity, flexibility and ways institutions could increasingly build upon individual identities. At the Center youth and staff embodied organizational and community credibility through their roles. At the same time, when these roles are enacted the possibility for crossing boundaries within the institution. Where there were previous lines between professional and academic domains, a number of interactions explored in this study shows how individuals were able to move beyond.

Unlike earlier studies of style shifting and mergers, this analysis provides an opening to consider style shifting as a learned practice within third space. Within the space, there are

opportunities for youth to have the agency to enact various identities to include their academic style, family style, and social styles. When youth see that their multiple styles can be utilized within the learning process. Another added benefit is later language development which is not always recognized within academic spaces.

Limitations

Though much hope exists for the power of third space in this study, there are still limitations to be considered. Any single case study will entail obvious limitations, even when it is expanded upon midway, as this study was when the Center gaining an additional after school site. While case studies can create vivid descriptions and cases can be applied to similar situations, qualitative case studies are limited by the integrity and subjectivity of the researcher. I primarily relied on my own abilities and background related to the context of the study throughout most of the research.

Although the Center's case presented robust amounts of data, I recognize that this study could be strengthened if my time in the setting had been for one full school year. In this regard, I relied on my observations of the Center as an employee coupled with direct observations and field notes for five months.

Another limitation was that I did not gather data across sites to consider the official effects of third space on student learning. Assessment data from the tutoring program was not collected from youth participants nor the STAR assessment data or participation numbers for youth. Instead, I relied on staff and youth recollections of their participation with the program. The bulk of my observations took place outside of the tutoring program, which only occurred in the learning center twice a week. The kinds of data that I collected allowed me to analyze groups of students and staff based upon their motivations and how they identified with the Center's

mission and vision for youth and staff. However, I believe I have been able to provide ample evidence that youth were more motivated to engage and learn when third space environments were present at the Center.

A final limitation for the study was the population of students being African American. The population being predominately African American limits the scope of the findings for national and local audiences. While Milner (2016) stated that race did and continues to matter within literacy studies, there are still limited studies that add race to their discussions. Additionally, reports of after school programs in the U.S. rarely focused on the differences experienced by African American youth participating in after school programs. Those narratives were more prevalent in research, though still minimal.

Implications: Applications and Suggestions

This study suggests directions for future work in literacy research in after school programs. Below I discuss the implications across research, policy, and practice.

Research. My theoretical framework resulted in my methods of analysis, insights, and reflections discussed in this study. Further problematizing the findings beyond the scope of what has already been accomplished led me to start thinking about the ways in which literacy is defined and re-defined across academic and non-academic spaces, and how boundaries within third spaces become closed and end mergers and translations of cultural exchanges.

Literacy re-defined for after school environments. Perez (2004) writes that learning is a fundamentally social process among knowledgeable group members and less capable novices. Such an idea about literacy is important in understanding how literacy is a social language practice. With respect to literacy from a social and ideological perspective, Moje and Lewis (2007) state that greater attention must be given to children's and youth's literacy learning and

the role of power in their opportunities to learn (pp. 15-16). The social concept of literacy is juxtaposed to current perspectives of literacy being adopted within and beyond classrooms, in which assessment takes precedence. After school programs, as sites of third space, can be highly powerful for the production of identity and defining/re-defining how literacy is understood across theoretical and practical spaces.

I draw upon Gutiérrez's (2007) argument that a blended approach to studying literacy is necessary for the development of a critical perspective; an interdisciplinary approach. I seek to move beyond the documentation of activity to the significance of collaboration and negotiation for literacy and identity across contexts. How are conceptions surrounding literacy practices in schools represented within after school programs? How are definitions of literacy in school and out of school related?

Limiting and removing third spaces. Within this study, the celebration and analysis of third spaces to promote shared cultural exchanges and learning. As an educator, I want nothing more than to celebrate increased opportunities to learn, but much can still be learned about how institutional and personal practices also serve to limit or prohibit these exchanges.

As such, in review of third space studies cited within this research, there are no discussions of the conditions that imply removals of third spaces or hybrid practices. I would suggest that future directions investigate when this phenomenon occurs to better illustrate how interactions can maintain strong cultural exchanges. Thus, in which ways do teachers/staff restrict youth from sharing their culture within curriculums? Or, in which ways do youth remove themselves from activities that challenge their cultural and linguistic practices?

Policy. A continued theme throughout the study relates to the impacts of policy. I decided to investigate the intersections of national climates and the local collaborations with the Center. I

was able to understand the impacts of policy on curriculums within after school programs and the effects it could have on staff and youth identity and on literacy development.

A particular issue worthy of study within after school programs is the national agenda related to after school programming. Given the recent political debates and changes of 2017 and 2018, the imposition of boundaries to financial supports led to parental and staff concerns. Further, the implications for additional changes to institutional identity through new funding sources have strong potential.

Lastly, a limitation of the study focuses on African Americans being the dominant population within this study. At a national level, studies of African American youth in after school policy documents are rare. As cited within *Chapter 2*, few studies highlight the impacts of after school programming on African American youth. They study could move learning and knowledge development within these environments into important spaces for continued discussions of policies for after school programs.

Practice. In my discussions of practice versus theory, I have highlighted practices with the institution and the social structures that influence those practices (e.g., community positioning, funding, and staff funds of knowledge). This work could be expanded upon through the analysis of social structures within the practices focusing more concretely on race and class. Specifically, examinations of the role that race and class play in constructions of third spaces between staff and youth could be very informative. For example, how are literacy and race related in after school curriculums? Also, how do youth literacies relate to academic practices out of school?

Boundaries. Providing after school administrators with examples of why permeable boundaries are needed for a strong and successful workforce might promote improvements in the

retention of their workforce. During the course of this study I witnessed six changes in staff which spanned across two locations. There was a lack of knowledge concerning opportunities for advancement and the ways staff could learn more about crossing borders within the institution. The growth model for after school programs is predicated on staff learning the community and policies so that they would become effective leaders within the organization. In the same way Thomas was able to advance within the organization, I too hope that administrators see why they need to encourage lateral movements within their organizations.

*Cultural Competencies***.** Russell-Mundine and Harvey (2015) explored the ways staff could be informed about cultural competencies and move that information forward into reflective practice. In a like manner, I too believe that strong foundations in cultural competencies would support engagement with youth within after school programs. As suggested by Destiny, a well-developed understanding of the community and organization could prevent many of the behavioral issues experience by the staff. Since staff were also tasked with assessing youth on their experiences in and out of the Center, a cultural competency focus would create a informed ways of assessing youths strengths and needs.

Another aspect of practice is related to cultural competencies are the ways in which staff planned for youth activities. I rarely participated in the planning of HYLA or other curriculums alongside the staff. Understanding the ways staff discuss and share their funds of knowledge in relationship to curriculum planning and implementation could enhance our understanding of ways third spaces are purposefully created for learning.

Marginalization. Lastly, there are strong implications for after school program administrators concerning program identity and replication of negative ideologies. Based on data concerning collaborations, it was found that the institutions identity shifted based upon

additional demands imparted by funding institutions. In the same ways staff roles expanded to become case managers, the institution also began recruiting a particular type of youth to the Center. The same sources that allowed the Center to keep its doors open, were the same sources placed a border between the youth the institution wanted to recruit and an identity of a place for trouble Black youth.

Conclusion

What are youth learning, and what did I learn?

During the analysis of the data I continued to wonder about what youth were really learning in this complex space. Learning is the acquisition of knowledge or skills through experience, study, or by being taught. In looking across the data and the discussion I conclude that youth and staff showed how knowledge takes many forms. How we measure that learning shapes whether the learning is valued. Second, classroom learning manifested its way into programs, curricular decisions, and youth culture. Because borders were constantly being crossed, I wondered whether the institution itself could envisioned as a third space. After considering the data, I decided that third space is too complex to generalize to an institutional level. It is most effective when considered in micro-discourses. Lastly, social mores needed to navigate spaces with adults and other cultures is an important part of youth's social/emotional learning. However, with many guidance counseling programs having been removed from schools, there was less emphasis on this form of learning. Now there is a resurgence of interest in this topic. Social emotional learning (SEL) practices are at the forefront of effective teaching practices. It appears that schools are following the lead of out-of-school programs who continued with these practices and did so successfully to help improve academic learning.

This research has taught me many things about my passions for learning and literacy in out-of-school contexts. This research showed me that connections with social issues are essential for carrying out a research project, and that the contexts being studied are always subject to change during the course of data collection.

In conclusion, I learned that sociocultural approaches to literacy are complex and thought to be oppositional to literacy practices. Although there are many similarities between the two contexts, individuals' avowed identities within those spaces dictate particular cultural and language practices.

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Appendix A

IRB Approval

IRB EXEMPT APPROVAL

RPI Name: Patrick Smith
Project Title: Negotiations and Ideologies of Language Use in an After school Center: Discovering Literacy
Practices
IRB #: 17340
Approval Date: December 8, 2016
Dear Dr. Smith and Ms. Harrison:
Thank you for submitting the completed IRB application form and related materials. Your application was reviewed by the UIUC Office for the Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS). OPRS has determined that the research activities described in this application meet the criteria for exemption at 45CFR46.101(b)(1). This message serves to supply OPRS approval for your IRB application.
Please contact OPRS if you plan to modify your project (change procedures, populations, consent letters, etc.). Otherwise you may conduct the human subjects research as approved for a period of five years. Exempt protocols will be closed and archived at the time of expiration. Researchers will be required to contact our office if the study will continue beyond five years.

Copies of the attached, date-stamped consent form(s) are to be used when obtaining informed consent.
We appreciate your conscientious adherence to the requirements of human subjects research. If you have any questions about the IRB process, or if you need assistance at any time, please feel free to contact me at OPRS, or visit our website at http://oprs.research.illinois.edu

Sincerely,

Ronald A Banks

Ronald Banks, MS, CIP
Human Subjects Research Coordinator, Office for the Protection of Research Subjects

Attachment(s):

Appendix B

Categorization of Third Space Literature

	K-12	After School Programs	Non-school environments	Adults/ College
Collaborations	Britsch (2005); Waterhouse, McLaughlin, McLellan, & Morgan (2009)	Gutiérrez et al (1999)	Bevan (2007)	Mythen (2012)
Identity	Leander (2002); Levy (2008)	*implied	Kalua (2009); Jensen (2011); Meredith (1998)	Covarr (2015); Struzick (2015)
Borders, Mergers and Negotiations	Cook (2005); Eisenhart & Edwards (2004); Gutiérrez et al. (1997); Hansfield, Crumpler, Dean (2010); Moje et al. (2004); Pane (2007); Piazza (2009)	Millar & Warrican (2015); Razfar (2012)	Frenkel (2008); House (2010)	Elmborg (2015); Hulme, Cracknell, & Owens (2009); Pane (2009)
Culture and language	Gutiérrez (2002); Leander (1999); Moje et al. (2004)	Gutiérrez et al. (1999)	Bhabha (1994); Gutiérrez et al. (2009); Zaver (2013)	Aoki (1996); Bhatt (2008)